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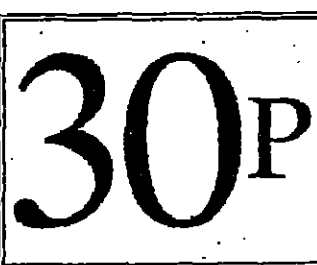
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THE TIMES



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Party morale hit as macabre death overshadows Major campaign

Tories fight to limit damage over Milligan

By Philip Webster, Political Editor, and Stewart Tandler

JOHN Major led a desperate attempt by the Tory high command last night to limit the political fallout from the death of Stephen Milligan as morale among Conservative MPs plummeted.

The Prime Minister's first session of his widely trumpeted campaign to take the Tory case to the party and country began last night against a background of sadness at the loss of a rising star, and bewilderment and embarrassment at the apparent circumstances of his death.

Mr Major travelled to Leicester for a meeting behind closed doors with senior party workers as his backbenchers bemoaned the return of ill fortune that has plagued the Government since the beginning of the year. An unexpected cut of 0.25 of a percentage point in interest rates passed almost unnoticed as Mr Major's back-to-basics crusade suffered another blow.

As MPs pondered the consequences, it emerged that Mr Milligan could have lain dead for nearly 48 hours in his west London house before his body was discovered.

Scotland Yard sources said the possibility that the death was murder had begun to look increasingly remote. Detectives yesterday began piecing together the details of Mr Milligan's last hours and speaking to friends.

Officially, police are treating the death as suspicious and waiting for the conclusions of Dr Iain West, the most senior pathologist in London. Police have yet to find any evidence that anybody was in the house before his body was discovered.

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Milligan: may have been dead for up to 48 hours



Kirkbride: relationship ended two years ago

the MP's flat at the time. As the Conservative Party awaited details of the manner of Mr Milligan's death, Sir Norman Fowler, the Conservative Party chairman, headed a chorus of ministerial claims that the affair, however tragic, would not knock the Government off course, or stand in the way of Mr Major's recovery. At the same time, the Defence Ministry moved to crush the most sensitive allegation, that as an aide to Jonathan Aitken, the Defence Minister, Mr Milligan was a security risk.

A spokesman said: "There is no security angle to Stephen Milligan's death. He had no access to classified information and he did not have an office in the Ministry of Defence."

Sir Norman said that the tragedy would not affect Mr Major's position as a strong leader, nor would it affect the Government. "Most people will take it for what it is, a personal tragedy. They will also take the view that it could happen in any political party, or in any organisation."

Tory strategists accept, however, that the by-election in Mr Milligan's Eastleigh seat is almost certain to be lost, and are planning to hold it on May 5, the day of the local elections.

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with a view to getting the bad news out of the way at once.

There were calls yesterday for the back-to-basics campaign to be jettisoned. Emma Nicholson, Conservative MP for West Devon and Torridge, said that it was "taken originally to mean heightened standards of private and public morality. It has become a self-destructive slogan. I think we should drop it."

Mr Milligan, discovered by his secretary on Monday with a ligature round his neck and a plastic bag over his head, may have died accidentally as a result of an autoerotic practice, although police have still not ruled out the possibility there may have been somebody else present. He was naked apart from a pair of stockings and was reported to have an orange in his mouth.

Yesterday Dr West completed a post-mortem examination on Mr Milligan, after which he ordered toxicology tests. Asphyxiation has not been ruled out.

No drugs have been found. However, the tests will examine whether Mr Milligan might have taken a drug, possibly injected into the orange, which heightened the experience but killed him in the process. Drugs in the amy

nitrate family, known as "poppers", are easily available and are sometimes used in sexual practices.

At the MP's house, a cupboard door and a table on which the MP was found were removed. Scientists will check them against any marks on the body.

Yesterday police interviewed Julie Kirkbride, a political journalist who has been a girl friend of the dead MP and remained a close

friend. After sealing the MP's home overnight they also began to examine papers and diaries.

Ms Kirkbride tells in her newspaper *The Daily Telegraph* today of how she enjoyed a normal loving relationship with Mr Milligan that ended two years ago.

Conservative Party officials voiced anger yesterday at the manner in which the police had leaked details about the death before it was confirmed.

It was said that Mr Milligan's parents had learnt of the news from television.

Sir Norman and Gerry Malone, his deputy, went to Hammersmith police station after Mr Milligan's secretary, who discovered the body, telephoned. The two party chiefs were told by senior police officers that they could not confirm the death while at the same time junior officers were leaking the news, party sources said.



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Britain backs ultimatum to lift Serb siege of Sarajevo

By Philip Webster, George Brock and Our Foreign Staff

JOHN MAJOR signalled last night that Britain would support a Nato ultimatum to the Bosnian Serbs to pull back their siege guns from around Sarajevo.

Despite strong opposition to air strikes from the Russians, Nato's crucial North Atlantic Council meeting in Brussels today is expected to issue a one-week deadline for Serb withdrawal. Nato sources said draft plans required both Serb and Muslim militias to withdraw mortars and field guns outside a "security zone" around the city within seven days. The safe area would extend for about 20 miles and prevent shelling from the hills which last Saturday killed 68 people with a single mortar round.

The Government's position on air strikes was agreed at a meeting of the Cabinet's overseas and defence policy committee. Malcolm Rifkind, the Defence Secretary, briefed the committee after returning from his three-day trip to Bosnia during which he spoke to United Nations military commanders about air strikes.

The Government is determined that the air strike option should be "forward-looking", to prevent any repetition of the shelling. Foreign Office officials said that despite apparent public differences, British and French positions over Bosnia were very close. Both believe some form of ultimatum must be given to the Serbs. However, the Government remains concerned about the impact of air strikes on British troops in Bosnia and on the humanitarian aid operation.

Russian officials in Moscow said any attack on Serb positions besieging the Bosnian capital would severely test relations with the West.

Mikhail Demurin, a Foreign Ministry spokesman, said that Boutros Boutros Ghali, the UN Secretary-General, had exceeded his powers in asking Nato to seek authorisation for air strikes. "Nato's readiness for air strikes is one thing but making a political decision to launch them is quite another," he said.

In the Commons, Mr Major said the UN might need force, including air power, to carry out its mandate. But he said air power should be used only for clear objectives. Continued mortar and artillery attacks on Sarajevo could not await an overall peace settlement, and the UN, with support from

France, would have nothing to do with yet another empty warning to the Serbs, he said.

Nato must apply immediate and strong pressure to halt the attacks, he said.

John Smith, the Labour Leader, said if nothing was done to protect Sarajevo from the shelling, the Serbs would conclude that no action would be taken against them.

In Brussels, British, American and French officials spent yesterday trying to assuage the objections voiced by the Canadian government which fears that air strikes will expose its 200 soldiers in the eastern Bosnian town of Srebrenica to retaliation.

Nato diplomats were also hopeful that Greece would not block an air strikes decision.

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Home buyers given no help by rates cut

By Janet Bush and Nicholas Wood

THE Government yesterday shaved a further 0.25 of a percentage point off interest rates, bringing base rates to 5.25 per cent. The move had a lukewarm welcome from industrialists and investors, who see little economic benefit in such a small cut.

Any positive reaction was soon eroded as building societies forestalled hopes of a cut in mortgage rates and suggested that only another quarter-point cut in base rates would persuade them to think again.

Kenneth Clarke, the Chancellor, said that a small prudent cut would not jeopardise inflation. The move was inspired not only by lower than expected inflation but also by increasing concern about impending tax increases.

Officials conceded privately that the recent spate of reports on higher taxes had made the public more aware of how they would be affected, heightening worries about consumer confidence.

The Institute of Directors joined other business repre-

sentatives in saying that the cut would have little economic benefit. Dr Ann Robinson, head of the IoD policy unit, said it should be seen as a "morale booster".

Gordon Brown, shadow Chancellor, said Mr Clarke should be doing more to ensure recovery is strengthened before tax rises come into effect. Economists believe that the recovery may falter unless rates are lowered more aggressively to compensate for tax increases. A large section of the City still believes rates will fall further.

The markets were unimpressed. Sterling fell sharply, shares recouping less than half of their Monday losses, and the UK government bond market, usually boosted by rate cuts, sagged. The general view was that the cut was too small and the Government's motives political.

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BT forced to cut peak rate charge

By Ross Tiesman

BRITISH Telecom is to abolish its 9am-1pm peak rate charge on March 9, saving telephone users £350 million a year by making morning calls 20 per cent to 25 per cent cheaper. The cut will be matched by Mercury Communications.

The reductions complete changes forced on BT by Ofel, the regulatory body. BT is obliged to modify prices by the rate of inflation, minus 7.5 per cent. Low inflation has produced a fall in real prices.

The latest reduction was welcomed by the Telephone Users Association, which said profits were unlikely to suffer because the new rate and the weekend rate introduced in December would increase the number of calls made.

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BBC gardens team stage classic coup

By Alexandra Frean, Media Correspondent

THE entire team from one of Radio 4's most cherished programmes, *Gardeners' Question Time*, is to be transplanted, root and branch, to Classic FM.

In an audacious coup, the commercial station has poached the programme's chairman, Dr Stefan Buckzack, for its new Saturday-afternoon programme, *Classic Gardening Forum*. He will be joined by other Radio 4 panelists, Daphne Ledward, Fred Downham, Sue Phillips and Bridger Moody.

The defection is a huge embarrassment for the BBC, which in August caused an outcry by announcing that it was to farm out production of *Gardeners' Question Time* to the independent sector to try to "improve" it and attract a younger audience. Listeners were upset because the announcement coincided with the departure — on grounds of ill health — of Clay Jones, the long-serving chairman, whose cheery catchphrase "And a very good day to you" had made him something of a hero to gardeners.

The programme, known to fans as *GQT*, has been on the air since 1947 and, with 1.3 million listeners, is one of the country's most popular radio programmes. Michael Bukht, Continued on page 2, col 7

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NEWS IN BRIEF

Guys ousted as main teaching hospital

Guy's Hospital is to lose its position as the NHS's flagship trust. Virginia Bottomley, the Health Secretary, will announce on Thursday that the neighbouring London hospital St Thomas', with which it is jointly managed, will become the main teaching hospital.

Key services will be transferred from Guy's, a leading centre of medical expertise used as a test bed for the NHS reforms. Doctors fear that Guy's will be left with little more than mental health services, dentistry and out-patient clinics.

The Government is understood to have rejected an unworkable plan by the hospital's trust board for Guy's to be retained as a specialist hospital, similar to the Royal Marsden or Great Ormond Street, treating patients with complex or rare conditions referred from other hospitals.

Radio slot opens

A fourth national commercial station could be on air by 1996 using an FM frequency previously reserved for water and electricity boards, the Radio Authority said. Although the authority has hinted that it would like to use the slot for regional and local services, it is likely to face strong pressure for a national service after the success of Classic FM.

Cleared man accused

A private prosecution is to be brought against the man cleared of murdering Nikki Allan, 7. A writ will be served on George Heron, 24, to attend Sunderland County Court where he will be sued for "battery on the child which resulted in death". Mr Heron, a neighbour, could be ordered to pay compensation. He cannot be retried for murder.

MP's widow seeks seat

The widow of James Boyce, the MP who died a fortnight ago while waiting for a heart transplant, is hoping to take over his seat. Barbara Boyce will seek the nomination for the safe Labour seat of Rotherham, South Yorkshire. Mrs Boyce, a business studies college lecturer, said: "He would have wanted me to carry on what he was trying to do."

Prisoner drops law suit

Russell Bishop, serving life for the attempted murder of a girl aged seven, yesterday discontinued his action for damages against Sussex police over his prosecution for the killing of two girls aged nine in the "Babes in the Wood" case in Brighton in 1986. Bishop, 27, who was acquitted, was suing police for false imprisonment and malicious prosecution.

Britons' appeal hope

Two British former members of a free-love sect who are fighting extradition to stand trial in America were given provisional leave yesterday to appeal to the House of Lords. Sally-Ann Croft, 44, and Susan Hagau, 47, are accused of plotting to kill the Oregon District Attorney while they were living with the Rajneeshi cult in 1985. They deny the charges.

Brothers remanded

Two brothers were remanded in custody again yesterday when they appeared at Jersey Magistrates' Court, charged in connection with the deaths of their parents seven years ago. Roderick Newall, 28, a former army officer, and Mark Newall, 27, a banker, are accused of murdering their parents, Nicholas and Elizabeth.

Liberal Democrats poised to capture Eastleigh seat left vacant after

Tories face uphill battle to hold seat in by-election

By PETER RIDDLE

THE Tories will be hard-pressed to hold Eastleigh in the by-election caused by Stephen Milligan's death, but the bizarre circumstances of the way in which he died may have little effect on the outcome.

The Liberal Democrats require an 11.6 per cent swing of the vote from the Tories to win. This is much less than the 28.4 per cent swing the party achieved to win Newbury by a large majority last May, and the 35.4 per cent swing by which it took Christchurch last July.

The expectation at Westminster is that the Liberal Democrats should capture the seat in a by-election that will probably be held on May 5, the same day as the borough and district elections. This would be within the convention of holding a by-election within three months of it falling vacant.

Eastleigh is a rapidly expanding and affluent middle-class suburb to the north and east of Southampton. The Tory share of the vote in the 1992 election was 51.3 per cent, less than at either Newbury or Christchurch.

The Liberal Democrats are well placed with a 28 per cent share of the vote two years ago and clearly in second place. However, the Labour share, at 20.7 per cent, is higher than at Newbury or Christchurch. This is double-edged since it gives Labour a higher base from which to launch a plausible campaign and provides more votes to be squeezed by a Liberal Democrat challenger.

Until the 1980s, it used to be thought that the governing party did better at a by-election caused by a death, rather than when a vacancy arose voluntarily because the former MP had taken another job. This was on the theory that voters do not like unnecessary elections. On the same

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Stephen Milligan at a demonstration against an EC motorcycling ruling last year

Diverse constituency gives hope to rival parties

By A STAFF REPORTER

THE Victorian red brick of the old railway works in Eastleigh town centre are in stark contrast to the sleek lines of yachts on the Hamble, illustrating the diversity of Stephen Milligan's Hampshire constituency.

Slotted uneasily between the rural hinterland of the Downs and the commercial activity of Southampton port, it is the product of the boundary commission's pen rather than of geographical logic.

The disparate elements give hope to all three political parties. Each can identify enough traditional ground to envisage victory in the seat, given the right national circumstances.

Along with a feeling of shock at losing an MP only 22 months into his post, there was an air of expectation yesterday in the constituency at the prospect of a by-election at a time when the Government appears so accident-prone.

The Southern Daily Echo

reminded those few who had forgotten that Mr Milligan recently told them, when discussing the Government's back-to-basics campaign: "If you are in public life you have to accept higher standards than if you are an ordinary person."

The local opposition parties, however, decided not to sneer. Nor will they plan their campaigns until a suitable time had elapsed. Yet both recognised a fortuitous opportunity presented to them. Mike Buckingham, leader of the Labour group on Eastleigh council, predicted that his party's third place in 1992, at 15,768 votes to the Liberal Democrats' 21,296 and the Conservatives' 38,998, could be turned into a win at a by-election. "Obviously we will not start favourite but we have a good chance."

The industrial tradition of the town, with the century-old British Rail link remaining in the form of Eastleigh maintenance works, employing about 1,300 people, is strong

Labour territory. Mr Milligan found some of his harshest critics among those opposed to rail privatisation. There was more opposition at Aerodrome Hamble, the largest employer in the constituency with a workforce of 2,000, from those who feared the impact of defence cuts.

Keith House, leader of the Liberal Democrats on the council and tipped as a possible candidate, looks to the division of the eight county council seats within the constituency for clues to the future. Five are Liberal Democrat seats. They hold one fewer than the Tories on Eastleigh and predict a change in May when a third of the seats are up for election.

With an electorate of 94,962, the constituency is vast. Boundary changes will reduce it by a third.

General Election 1992: S. Milligan (C) 38,998; D. Chidgey (Lib dem) 21,296; Ms J. Sugrue (Lab) 15,768. C Maj 17,702.

We were expecting wedding bells, say supporters

By LIN JENKINS

THE tattered union flag fluttered at half-mast on the roof of the Eastleigh Conservative Association according to convention. Inside the telephone rang constantly with messages of condolence to Stephen Milligan's secretary, Sally Ferny, and officers of the association.

Local party stalwarts dropped by to pay their respects. Some were lost for words at the apparent circumstances of their MP's death.

Many thought he would marry Julie Kirkbride, the Daily Telegraph journalist seen frequently at his side at local gatherings. Only a week ago Miss Kirkbride accompanied Mr Milligan to the annual dinner dance at the Eastleigh Conservative club, where he was guest of honour.

Peter Masden, association chairman, sat next to her at the selection meeting in 1990 when Mr Milligan beat Lady Olga Mainland for the nomination. "Everybody liked her. I remember they went for a walk while we made our decision."

John Warren, vice-chairman, said: "She was an integral part of his campaign, she worked as hard as anyone." "He was a man with a stable relationship. There were people anticipating wedding bells, among the ladies at least. But it was understood that they were establishing their careers."

He said some among the 18-strong selection panel might not have favoured a candidate who appeared to be without a stable personal relationship. "But I can't really speak for them. The Conservatives have always left private life to individuals. He was the soul of discretion."

Mr Masden pondered how often he had reflected his good fortune in having a constituency association untroubled by scandal. "When an agent in another association ran off with a few thousand pounds I thought, 'Thank goodness that is not us, but now this.'"

"When Tim Yen was having trouble in Suffolk I thought what a very good relationship we had with our own MP. We never thought we'd have anything like this."

Beryl Friday, honorary secretary and acting agent, said: "You could not relate the man with something like that. It is just one of those things."

She said it was impossible to assess the impact of the circumstances of his death on the future behaviour of voters. "I suppose it all depends on what the final outcome is when the police conclude their enquiries."

Mr Warren added that "he was the best candidate for the job, he swept the opposition away and proved us right in becoming an excellent constituency MP. He immersed himself in local activities."

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Tests delay tunnel passenger services

By TIM JONES

TRANSPORT CORRESPONDENT

EUROTUNNEL has abandoned its plans to operate a full passenger service through the Channel tunnel from May 8 because of problems revealed in commissioning tests.

Although the £10 billion tunnel will be opened by the Queen and President Mitterrand on May 6 as planned, it may be weeks before Le Shuttle trains are able to offer a proper service through the 31-miles of tunnel under water.

Eurotunnel, which is connecting people who have bought tickets to offer them refunds, said delays had been caused because commissioning tests have had to be repeated or rescheduled.

Hopes of beginning to retrieve some of the tunnel's £10 billion construction cost by running freight services through the tunnel from March 7 have also been put back.

Problems disclosed in the Times last week have proved too complex for Eurotunnel to solve before the deadline.

Although the tunnel will be opened as planned, with much pomp and ceremony, it may be weeks after that before fare-paying passengers and their cars can make the 31-mile journey beneath to France.

It is understood the Queen will travel from Waterloo station in London and travel

through the tunnel to meet President Mitterrand in Calais.

The delay is the latest embarrassment for Eurotunnel and TML, which have been plagued by financial, technical and legal problems. Originally due to open in May last year, the date slipped back as costs rose to more than double the original estimate.

Eurotunnel said yesterday the board had been informed that the final stages of commissioning were going well and that no fundamental problems had emerged. "Nevertheless, as is common in complex commissioning programmes, a number of commissioning tests have had to be repeated or rescheduled," a spokesman said.

"Together with additional time needed for commissioning the locomotives, these are causing delay overall in achieving the standards of quality and service required."

"Thousands of tests have to be conducted on everything from ventilation systems to signalling before the tunnel opens for business and Eurotunnel is prepared to delay the service rather than risk the possibility of any failure."

There is also some doubt when the Eurostar service, carrying foot passengers, will begin. It appears likely the first train will not pull out of Waterloo until July, at least a month later than planned.

BBC gardening team stage Classic coup

Continued from page 1

Classic FM's programme controller, said last night that the GQT team had approached him through an intermediary because they were disappointed by the BBC's plans.

Dr Buczacki said: "With Classic the programme will retain its homely flavour, as it will continue to be broadcast from village halls. The BBC had wanted to move to more glitzy surroundings, and we don't think that is what people want."

Classic FM has built up a regular weekly audience of 4.7 million since it was launched 16 months ago. Classic Gardening Forum will be broadcast from 2-3pm on Saturdays. It will be recorded at gardening clubs throughout Britain, but in a new departure it will include classical music to fit

themes such as flowers, fruit and the region concerned.

The BBC said last night that GQT will continue on Radio 4 on Sundays, with new panelists. The chairman will be Eric Robson, a television and radio presenter, who will broadcast his first show in April.

The debacle is the latest in a series of problems at Radio 4. Last year the BBC was forced to abandon plans for a 24-hour rolling news network on Radio 4's Long Wave frequency after a campaign.

Protesters are preparing for a fresh battle over plans to remove from Radio 4 Long Wave many favourites, including The Archers, to make way for the Open University and 53 days of Test Match Special this spring and summer.

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the bizarre death of one of Parliament's most hardworking and ambitious young stars

Milligan's friends shocked by his secret sex life

By Andrew Pierce and Dominic Kennedy

FRIENDS of Stephen Milligan expressed their shock last night at the bizarre circumstances of his death as detectives continued their enquiries.

Mr Milligan was known to his many friends and associates in politics and journalism as a hardworking MP destined for the Cabinet whose ambition was tempered by kindness. But in private he had formed few close friendships and appears to have led a secret life.

Speculation that Mr Milligan, a 45-year-old bachelor, was homosexual was discounted. Julie Kirkbride, a political correspondent on *The Daily Telegraph* who was his last serious girlfriend, has told of how they enjoyed a normal loving relationship which ended two years ago.

The circumstances in which his body was discovered surprised even his closest friends. None suspected him of the type of self-gratification that may have killed him.

R.W. Johnson, a Fellow at Magdalen College, Oxford, who was Mr Milligan's politics lecturer, said: "What a sad and horrible way to die. To be found lying trussed up with a plastic bag over your head is horrible. I don't know what Stephen Milligan's sexual preferences were. When he was here Magdalen was an all-male college. There were gays at the college but Mr Milligan was not obviously one of them, he added.

Mr Milligan, who was the son of a company secretary and a ballet teacher, went to Magdalen in 1967 and his leadership potential was quickly recognised. But even

in his late teens, during an era of long hair and campus protest, he dressed, thought and behaved conservatively.

Viscount Lewisham, one of his friends at Oxford, said: "Stephen was a gifted person who was perceived as being one of the future leaders of this country." He encouraged Mr Milligan to stand for the university's Conservative association committee and canvassed for him. Mr Milligan then stood against his friend, now a 44-year-old chartered accountant who is grandson of the novelist Barbara Cartland, for the association presidency and won by a handsome

6 He was a fine journalist who was passionate about issues. He was married to politics?

margin. After leaving Oxford, where contemporaries included Gareth Evans, the Australian Foreign Minister, with a second-class degree in philosophy, politics and economics, he wrote *The New Barons*, a critical view of trade unions.

He then worked for Edward Heath in the last months of his premiership. The arrival of Margaret Thatcher led him to postpone his plans to become a Tory MP.

Mr Johnson said: "Stephen said he really disliked that woman because she had no comprehension or feeling of what it is like to be poor. He did not want to become a

Thatcherite." It was only after she had been ousted that Mr Milligan put himself forward as an MP and quit a journalistic career that had included jobs on *The Economist*, *The Sunday Times* and the BBC. In the early 1980s he had been a member of the SDP before returning to the Tory party.

Andrew Neil, editor of *The Sunday Times*, said he and Mr Milligan had talked at length about Mr Milligan's engagement some years ago to a journalist, Jane Dunn. "He called it off because he felt he did not love her enough. He was very cut up about it." It was Mr Neil who introduced him to Julie Kirkbride.

"He was a fine journalist who was passionate about issues. He did not have that many friends but he was not lonely. He was married to politics," Mr Neil added.

David Lipsey, a former deputy editor of *The Times*, who was another Oxford contemporary, had no inkling of his liking for sado-masochistic sexual acts. "But why would I know? You do not expect to be found out," said Mr Lipsey, who works for *The Economist*. He played golf with Mr Milligan at the Royal Mid-Surrey club in Richmond, southwest London, where the MP was seen alone on Saturday.

Mr Lipsey dismissed speculation that the MP was gay. "He always had loads of girl friends."

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Beryl Friday, left, of Eastleigh Conservative Association; Vera Taggart, top, who found the body; and Stuart Roath, a friend in Eastleigh



The last, lonely days of a man earmarked for political glory

By Sheila Gunn

STEPHEN Milligan's last words to his old friend and fellow Tory MP Gyles Brandreth at Friday lunchtime were a cheery "see you Monday".

They had eaten a quick snack in the Commons' tea-room with the Whip Andrew MacKay. His mood, they both insist, was "chippy" with no indication of depression or anxieties.

It was the last time Mr Brandreth saw him. Their friendship stretched back more than 25 years to their days at Oxford. Both members of the 1992 intake, Mr Brandreth said he noticed nothing strange in his colleague's behaviour.

Later Mr MacKay, MP for Berkshire East, and Mr

Milligan talked about his political prospects. As a rising star and Major loyalist, Mr Milligan was assured that his chances of promotion from parliamentary aide to junior minister in the not-too-distant future looked good.

They also talked about his work on committees. "He went off a very happy bunny," Mr MacKay said.

Soon after, Mr Milligan rose to speak during the Commons debate on energy conservation. He bandied words with another Tory MP, Iain Duncan-Smith.

With hindsight, some of his comments appear tragic. Mr Milligan said he hoped the Liberal Democrats' idea of a carbon tax "will die a slow death".

"A quick death," retorted Mr Duncan-Smith. "A quick

death," agreed Mr Milligan. "He has corrected me."

After that his movements are hazy. On Saturday morning he went across the road from his Hammersmith flat to his local newsagents, Cyril Fernando, 44, said Mr Milligan had popped into his shop at 9.30am to ask about his papers, which had not been delivered. He normally bought the *Financial Times* and *The Daily Telegraph* on a Saturday.

"It was crowded," Mr Fernando recalled yesterday. "He said, 'Hello, how are you?' I asked him if he was working that day, and he said, 'No I am relaxing'."

"He said he hadn't got the papers and he bought a loaf of bread and a pint of milk. He always bought that every morning. He was wearing a

blue suit and tie. He went back to his house when he left the shop."

Mr Fernando said he thought Mr Milligan had also come in on Sunday morning, but was not certain. Afterwards Mr Milligan played a solitary game of golf at the Royal Mid-Surrey golf club at Richmond. He was a keen player and a member of the parliamentary golf club.

At about 9pm on Saturday evening, Mr Milligan had a telephone conversation with a friend. He did not, however, contact Julie Kirkbride, a *Daily Telegraph* journalist and one of his closest friends, over the weekend.

According to an MP, Mr Milligan had been expected for lunch with friends on the Sunday, but did not turn up.

Normally Mr Milligan would have spent much of Friday and Saturday in his Eastleigh constituency, but last week his arrangements changed as he was "let off" voting by the Whips to spend Thursday in his area.

In the evening he took part in a televised debate about manufacturing on BBC South with John Denham, Labour MP for Southampton Itchen. Afterwards, they were on a radio phone-in programme to talk about local job prospects. Mr Milligan spent the night in the constituency, returning to London early on Friday morning.

The previous Tuesday and Wednesday mornings he apparently attended the daily "prayer" meetings between defence ministers and officials at the ministry to prepare for the day.

How the drama unfolded

Monday afternoon: Vera Taggart, Mr Milligan's secretary, calls Julie Kirkbride, a friend of the MP, because he had not kept appointments and she is worried. She proposes going round and checking the MP's Chiswick house.

16.00: Miss Taggart arrives at the house in her car and lets herself in. The body of Mr Milligan is lying on the kitchen floor.

16.23: Mrs Taggart calls the police.

16.27: Police summon an ambulance.

16.50: Det Insp Phil Swinburne, from Hammersmith police station, arrives.

17.00: A message about the

discovery of the body of a man in the home of an MP in west London is transmitted on the Scotland Yard internal message system. In west London, Hammersmith CID calls for a forensic science team and area major incident team.

Miss Kirkbride arrives to join Mrs Taggart. Both women are taken to Hammersmith police station and Mrs Taggart asks for Sir Norman Fowler, Conservative Party chairman and "a personal friend", to be with her.

18.07: Sky News reports that a body has been found at the home of Mr Milligan.

18.30: The first rumours reach national newspaper offices.

via lobby correspondents, that Mr Milligan's body was found dressed in women's underwear.

19.00: Dr Iain West, the most senior Home Office pathologist in London, arrives at the MP's house.

Sir Norman arrives at Hammersmith police station and spends three hours talking to senior officers.

21.45: The body is removed from the house to the Fulham mortuary for a late night post-mortem by Dr West.

Midnight: The body of Mr Milligan is formally identified by a relative.

03.00: The post-mortem is completed but is inconclusive.

MP used agency to date women

By Gabriella Giamini

STEPHEN Milligan had been a member of a dating agency in Kensington, west London, it was disclosed yesterday.

Mary Balfour, proprietor of the Drawing Down The Moon agency, said yesterday that she could not comment on the "confidentiality" of her clients, but did not deny that Mr Milligan had used her dating service.

Mrs Balfour said: "Drawing Down The Moon is a respectable and caring agency. Confidentiality is our stock-in-trade and I am not prepared to discuss any aspect of it."

A former BBC colleague, who refused to disclose her name, is said to have recognised Mr Milligan's photograph in the catalogue of prospective dates when she joined the agency in 1992. She told the Press Association that full personal details of the Tory MP, including the sort of women he hoped to meet, came with the picture.

"I was absolutely astonished when I looked through the files," the MP's former colleague said. "The reason I decided not to join was because there, staring out at me, was Stephen Milligan. 'I was horrified by the idea of anybody being able to look through the files and see me.'"

The dating agency boasts a reputation for exclusive clients. It claims to select its members carefully from the art and political worlds and turns away many applicants. It charges about £700 a year for ordinary membership.



Police forensic scientists remove a table top from Mr Milligan's house yesterday

Obsession that turns fantasy into fatal ritual

By Dr Thomas Stuttaford

THE death of Stephen Milligan, whether it was self-inflicted or the result of a shared sexual ritual that went badly wrong, exposed two different and not necessarily related forms of activity. Both are intended to heighten sexual response.

An obsession with feminine clothing, often shoes and underwear, is the commonest form of fetishism. Many heterosexual and bisexual men are turned on by their partner's bras, pants or suspenders. They may want to handle the garments during sex or have their partner dressed in them, and may be unable to perform without such stimulation. Some men use women's clothing as an aid to masturbation.

Transvestism, the wearing of women's clothing, may be part of an elaborate masturbatory ritual, and many who achieve sexual gratification

in this way spend a lifetime enjoying fantasies that are often never discovered, even by their wives. Transvestism, however, is not always part of sexual activity. Some men wear women's clothes simply because they feel at ease in them.

Traditional teaching, supported by such organisations as the Beaumont Society, which protects the interests of transvestites, is that there is no correlation between transvestism and transsexual or homosexual behaviour. My experience of talking to probably hundreds of patients over many years suggests that a greater-than-average number of transvestites have homosexual or bisexual tendencies.

Men who are transvestites are often deeply ashamed of their fantasies, which are usually harmless, so that distress and depression is commonly induced. The foundations of transvestism are certainly laid in childhood, and signs of it may be seen from an

early age. A paper last year in the *Journal of Sexual Medicine* followed the subsequent sexual inclinations of childhood cross-dressers and concluded that the majority later had homosexual leanings.

Deliberately starving the brain of oxygen so that inhibitions are relaxed and fantasies more vivid is a dangerous practice. Anaesthetists are only too well aware of the narrow gap between anaesthesia and death from lack of oxygen. For an amateur to try to achieve a desired level of anoxia by controlled asphyxia, even with such safeguards as a noose that would loosen in the event of unconsciousness and an orange to keep the mouth open, is extremely hazardous. One of the dangers of trying to starve the brain of oxygen is that the vagus nerve to the heart may be suddenly stimulated so that the patient stops breathing and the heart stops beating.

Anoxia is usually employed as part

of a masturbatory routine entirely dependent on fantasy because no sexual partner is available.

Mr Milligan's death has shed light on the shadowy world of sexual fetishes, bondage and sado-masochism (Andrew Pierce writes).

Far from being limited to the privacy of the home, increasing numbers of clubs in major cities host "fetish parties". *Skin Two*, a glossy magazine with a circulation of 31,000, is their bible with articles on the safest sexual techniques, contacts and a guide to fetish clubs and rubber wear.

Recently it warned readers of the dangers of auto-eroticism. "Solo practitioners are ingenious at tying themselves up and escaping but the danger comes when their excitement overcomes natural caution and they get themselves into a situation they cannot get out of. Restraining yourself without a responsible partner close at hand is unwise," it said.

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How to dial S for savings in the telephone discount war

By SUSAN GILCHRIST

THE abolition by BT and Mercury of the peak rate charge will cut about £350 million a year off the nation's telephone bills. Although likely to benefit businesses more than residential users, the move is seen as a promising first step in a less complex pricing structure.

Here is a guide to the new rules:
What does the change mean?
 From March 9, BT will abolish its peak-rate charge, which operates between 9am and 1pm on Monday to Friday. Not to be outdone, Mercury decided to axe its equivalent "prime rate". Standard rate, which has operated from 8am to 9am and 1pm to 6pm, will be extended to run from 8am to 6pm.

Monday to Friday. BT will call this new period the daytime rate. Mercury has yet to devise a name.
 The cheap rate for both companies continues to apply between 6pm and 8am, Monday to Friday, and at weekends.
How much will this save on a three-minute call?

The price of a BT three-minute local call made between 9am and 1pm will fall from 20p to 15p, a saving of 25 per cent. A three-minute national call on a low-cost route, such as London to Birmingham, will also fall by 25 per cent from 40p to 30p. The same call on other long distance routes which are less frequently used, such as Exeter to Birmingham, will fall by 20 per cent from 50p to 40p. Mercury subscribers

will find their charges on low-cost routes falling from 33p to 25p, a saving of 24 per cent, while calls on long-distance routes will come down from 42p to 31p, by 27 per cent.
Who will save more — the residential or the business customer?

Businesses will be the biggest winners as they tend to make more calls during the daytime than residential users. BT has been losing to Mercury in the battle for the lucrative business market and this move is seen as an attempt by BT to fight back. Although Mercury is estimated to hold only 7 per cent of the overall national market, its share of the business sector is believed to be substantially higher than BT's.

How much will residential users save?
 BT estimates that the average residential bill will fall by 2.8 per cent as a direct result of the new measure, an average saving of £120 a quarter.

Mercury declined to estimate a figure, saying: "We don't want to give out such an interesting piece of information to our main competitor."

How much will business users save?
 BT claims business users will see their bills fall by 6.4 per cent. Mercury, again, refused to estimate the overall level of savings.
When is the cheapest time to make a call?

Despite the hype surrounding

this latest development in the telephone price war and claims that it is "the biggest ever single price cut", the weekend remains the cheapest time to make a call. Both BT and Mercury have recently introduced special weekend rates, with a three-minute call anywhere in the country costing 10p with either company.

The introduction of a cheaper weekend rate cut the telephone bills of BT subscribers by £150 million.

Will there be more price cuts?
 Yes. Although BT has now largely met its obligations imposed by Ofcom to cut prices by £500 million by July 31, its stringent tariff formula, which requires BT to adjust its charges by the equivalent of inflation minus 7.5 per cent, means that prices will continue to fall.

What other discounts are there?
 BT's Supportline scheme for users spending less than £27.50 a quarter offers half-price line rental and 30 free call minutes. Under Option 15, those spending more than £40 a quarter get a 10 per cent discount on calls for a £4 quarterly charge.

Mercury's discount deals are aimed solely at heavy users. The Daytime Calling Plan cuts 5 per cent off daytime calls for a £3 quarterly fee. A loyalty bonus gives customers spending more than £60 a quarter a 10 per cent discount on the extra calls.

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 Diary, page 16
 Charges cut, page 25
 Pennington, page 27

Brothers of Charity 'sacked ill woman'

THE Brothers of Charity sacked an employee while she was undergoing cancer treatment, an industrial tribunal was told yesterday.

Maria Bennett, principal of a training scheme run by the Roman Catholic order, was told of her dismissal in a letter sent while she was in hospital for surgery.

The tribunal at Liverpool was told that Mrs Bennett, 36, suffered a miscarriage in 1992, but continued working despite doctors' advice to rest.

Mrs Bennett, of Formby, told the tribunal: "I was meant to work a 30-hour week but it was much more than that. I even worked 75 hours one week. After the miscarriage I couldn't walk without severe pain but still went in to work for the sake of my students." Later she developed cervical cancer and took sick leave for a series of operations.

She said she wrote to her employers on several occasions notifying them of her illness but never received a reply. Then a letter of dismissal arrived last April while she was hospital for exploratory surgery. Simon Gordon, lawyer for the Brothers of Charity, told the tribunal: "This is a small charitable organisation which depended on the fine services of Mrs Bennett and was more than patient with her ongoing sick leave. But they could not afford to pay her while she was off and someone to continue her duties."

Mrs Bennett is claiming compensation for unfair dismissal and entitlement to holiday pay. The tribunal reserved its decision.

Attack was so unexpected, sergeant did not have time to draw his truncheon

PC's killers 'were looking for trouble'

By PAUL WILKINSON

A POLICE sergeant called to a domestic disturbance at a housing estate was bludgeoned and knifed to death by two attackers high on drugs and solvents, Teesside Crown Court was told yesterday.

The attack on Sgt Bill Forth was so unexpected and ferocious that he did not have time to draw his truncheon, the jury heard.

John Milford QC, for the prosecution, told the jury that witnesses would describe how one of the alleged assailants, Paul Weddle, 25, attacked the officer with a knife in one hand and a fence post in the other. The other alleged attacker, Phillip English, who was 15 at the time, battered Sgt Forth about the head with another piece of fencing. Both deny his murder.

Mr Milford said that Sgt Forth, 34, married with two young children, had been doing his job "with restraint and good humour, while the defendants were looking to make trouble, and they achieved it in its most extreme form".

One of the first knife thrusts had penetrated his heart and as he slumped forward up to seven more stab wounds were inflicted on his back and side. Sgt Forth died before ambulance crews arrived.

Mr Milford said that when the youths were detained in police cells Mr Weddle was heard to yell to his friend: "We will be all right, all our drinks had been spiked with eggs and we didn't know what we were doing."

"Eggs" or "wobbly eggs" are the terms used for sleeping tablets that can induce a high when taken with alcohol.

Mr Milford said that the incident happened on March 20 last year at Sunnyside, a district of Gateshead, Tyne and Wear, close to the defen-

dants' homes. He said Mr Weddle had been angry that his girl friend had taken up with another youth.

Mr Milford said the two had spent the evening with a group of youths sitting round a bonfire drinking, taking drugs and inhaling lighter fuel. One of the group would tell the court that Mr Weddle and Mr English had told him they were "on a buzz".

Sometime after 11pm they had appeared outside the girl friend's home shouting for her new boy friend to come out. The police were called after Mr Weddle broke a window. When Sgt Forth arrived accompanied by PC Bill Hay the two had run a short distance away, stopping to taunt the officers. "Come over here, we'll sort you out."

While PC Hay went into the house Sgt Forth returned to protect his police car. On his way he saw the two again and was heard to say: "Now lads, come on." Mr Milford said one of them was heard to shout: "Get him, kill him."

Mr Milford said another witness would recall hearing the officer say to the youths: "Give me the knife, I don't want any trouble," and that they were then seen to hit him with sticks and the beating continued as the officer fell to the ground. One resident would say he heard Mr Weddle shouting: "Kill him, kill him," Mr Milford said.

By this time PC Hay had returned. He saw the sergeant with one arm above his head protecting it from the blows being struck from behind by Mr English and his other arm apparently holding Mr Weddle at a distance.

As he approached he saw his colleague's legs buckle and the sergeant fell to the ground. As the officer approached, Mr English turned and ran leaving the sergeant still under attack from Mr Weddle. The



Paul Weddle arriving at court yesterday, handcuffed to police. He denies murder

PC chased and arrested him. A neighbour had come to the sergeant's assistance and used a rolling pin and length of plastic piping to drive off the attacker.

Mr Milford said: "By this time Sgt Forth was in extremis. A nurse who lived nearby gave what help her medical expertise could afford, but he died."

Mr Weddle was arrested in the early hours at his home where police found his jeans in the washing machine. He claimed that he had been

attacked by two men who had taken his knife from him and stabbed him in the arm. He said that he had seized it back.

Mr Weddle said: "My drink had been spiked. I went ballistic and stabbed him again and again. I then realised it was a copper and I ran."

Mr Milford suggested that Mr Weddle had stabbed himself to provide corroboration for his story. Mr English, he suggested, would deny murder because he had not struck the fatal blow and had fled from the scene before it was

delivered. "But he is equally guilty of murder because it was a joint enterprise. They both intended to murder Sgt Forth or cause him grievous bodily harm and each one is liable for the acts of the other."

Sgt Forth's widow Gill, 35, sat in the public gallery at the hearing yesterday clenching her mother's hand as the details of her husband's killing were outlined. Sgt Forth had won a judge's commendation for bravery a short time before his death.

The hearing continues.



Forth: left defenceless during ferocious attack

How to collect Social Security at any age

Every year, thousands of millions of pounds are offered from the Government to go unclaimed. In some schemes, the take-up rate is only a third of those eligible — just a few pence more people don't even know the Government owes them that money.

A new book tells how every UK citizen can collect their share of the £68 thousand million that will be handed out this year by the Government. The book explains how to collect social security benefits: retirement, small business loans, income supplements, education benefits, farm loans and unemployment job training. Here are just a few facts covered:
 • How £420,000 people collect monthly benefits from one scheme alone.
 • How 12,185,000 children get regular benefit payments.
 • How to qualify for disability pensions (more than 970,000 collecting but thousands more eligible).
 • How to know when to quit work and start collecting monthly retirement benefits.
 • How you may be cheating yourself out of cash benefits right now.
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Wife guilty of plot to electrify husband

By A STAFF REPORTER

A WOMAN who bought mourning clothes and practised weeping has been found guilty of plotting to kill her husband by electrocuting him in his bath and bludgeoning him with a hammer.

But Sonya Eyles, 33, who stood to collect £96,000 insurance, confessed her plans to her best friend, who tipped off the police. Yesterday at St Albans Crown Court, Hertfordshire, Eyles, the mother of a boy and a girl, was found guilty by a 10-2 majority of making threats to kill her husband Alan, 45, at their home in Chesham.

Judge Gosschalk adjourned the case for pre-sentence and psychiatric reports and told Eyles: "By doing so I hasten to add, less the defendant raises false hopes, that she cannot assume she will totally regain her liberty." Eyles was granted bail on condition she stays with relatives in Lincolnshire. The court was told that after

her arrest last March, detectives found the extension lead she planned to connect to a power socket and radio and then drop in her husband's bath. And from behind two crime thrillers a 25lb lump hammer was recovered.

The prosecution said that Eyles had taken a friend, Lorraine Blacker, on a shopping trip to buy the extension lead. Then she had gone to a Sainsbury's Homebase for the hammer. The cashier had jokingly asked: "Are you going to do the old man in?"

She bought a black dress and a black suit as part of her widow's mourning clothes and consulted the *Daily Book of Home Management* to brush up on electricity and wiring. However, she made the mistake of telling Mrs Blacker she was going to kill her husband, saying that she planned to drug him first. The Blackers telephoned the police.

Teacher jailed for sex with girl of 14

By A STAFF REPORTER

AN ART teacher aged 50 was jailed for nine months yesterday after admitting a passionate affair with a 14-year-old girl pupil.

Clive Giffellon, who taught for 26 years and is the father of two young children, was said to have had frequent sex with the girl. They had first kissed when the girl was 13 and met regularly afterwards, making love in Giffellon's car and at his home in Tow Law, Co Durham.

When police questioned him about playground rumours that he was having an affair with the girl, he broke down and confessed. He pleaded guilty at Newcastle Crown Court to two specimen charges of having unlawful intercourse with a girl under 16.

Passing sentence, Judge Stroyan told him: "It's quite impossible to tolerate a school teacher who allows

himself to seduce his pupils from the age of 13 upwards, commencing intercourse when she was 14."

"You were in a position of trust which you systematically and deliberately betrayed. However willing the girl might have been, it was up to you — your plain duty — to refuse to have any kind of sexual relationship at all."

The judge said the result of the affair was that Giffellon had lost his job and almost everything else save his wife. He added: "It does seem fairly clear that to some extent the girl was encouraging the relationship but you were in a position of trust which you betrayed."

Last night the girl's father said the sentence was far too short. "We had expected at least two years. This is disgusting. What kind of message does this send to parents and children?"

Besotted chauffeur tried to kill boss

By A STAFF REPORTER

A CHAUFFEUR was jailed for nine years yesterday for attempting to murder his boss after becoming besotted with his wife.

Alan Darby, 45, a car dealer from Bassalegh, Gwent, was stabbed by his driver, Roger Bailey, outside his farmhouse. Bailey, from Newport, had become "obsessed" after his employer's wife, Margaret Darby, confided to him about her marital troubles. Mrs Darby told Cardiff Crown Court how her wealthy husband began beating her after suspecting that she was having an affair.

Bailey, 42, attacked Mr Darby with a knife, leaving him requiring 165 stitches. Roger Thomas for the prosecution, said: "That man was besotted and obsessed. He bought a mobile phone to keep in touch with her — he would do anything for her... but there was no sexual liaison between the two. He thought

the only solution to her problems would be to get rid of her husband."

Cardiff Crown Court was told by Mr Darby how Bailey and Gareth Banton, 22, attacked him last September. "They were holding my head back by the hair and slashing my throat back and forth."

Bailey admitted attempted murder and was jailed for nine years. Banton, of Wattsville, Gwent, denied the same charge and was cleared by the jury, but he was convicted of wounding with intent and sentenced to five years in jail.

Mr Justice Curtis said: "This was a murderous and obscene attack: it is a miracle that Mr Darby did not die."

Civil Service boss faces questions over arms

By MICHAEL DYNES
 WHITEHALL CORRESPONDENT

SIR Robin Butler, the Cabinet Secretary and superintendent of the government machine, will appear before Lord Justice Scott today to account for his role in the arms-to-Iraq affair. Sir Robin's testimony will be the first time that the head of the Civil Service has been cross-examined by a judge since Lord Armstrong of Ilminster tried to prevent the press from publishing extracts of Peter Wright's book *Spycatcher* in 1987.

The former Cabinet Secretary became a figure of ridicule during the *Spycatcher* trial in Australia after he admitted that he had been "economical with the truth". Sir Robin, who now faces a similar

ordeal, became Cabinet Secretary at the start of 1988. In December that year, three junior ministers secretly agreed to relax guidelines governing the export of defence equipment to Iran and Iraq without informing Parliament.

Sir Robin will face questions about the use of intelligence information, answers to parliamentary questions, the relationship between ministers and their civil servants, and his knowledge of the arms trade before the Matrix Churchill trial.

Widely regarded as the epitome of Whitehall's culture of lofty detachment, Sir Robin will be asked to explain why the government machine failed to ensure that vital intelligence reports warning that British machine tools were being used to make arma-

ments for Iraq were not made available to ministers who were responsible for approving export licences.

William Waldegrave, the former Foreign Office minister, told the Scott enquiry in October that a series of intelligence reports highlighting Britain's involvement in President Saddam's procurement of ballistic missiles and conventional and nuclear weapons were never brought to his attention. "I think we should have seen more of this stuff," he said.

Sir Robin, who is renowned for the tight grip he keeps on the day-to-day activities of the Cabinet Office, will be closely questioned by the enquiry team about the misleading advice he gave to John Major concerning the Government's knowledge of the illicit trade in the run up to the prosecution of the

three Matrix Churchill executives at the Old Bailey in November 1992. In November 1991, as Customs officials were preparing their case against the Coventry-based machine-tool manufacturer, Sir Robin told Mr Major that the Government could deny it was aware that British machine tools were being used to help re-arm Iraq. The Cabinet Office later failed to correct that advice, even though Sonia Pippard, Sir Robin's private secretary, agreed that the advice had been wrong.

Sir Robin will also be questioned about the Government's attitude towards answering parliamentary questions honestly, what he knew about the Matrix Churchill trial, and the use of public interest immunity certificates.

Leading article, page 17

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● HUNDREDS of readers every day are responding to the guarantee by The Times to freeze the cover price at 30p (40p on Saturdays) until January 31 next year. The guarantee is open to all who order a regular daily copy.

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Ex-model overdosed on diet pills

A former model gradually overdosed on slimming tablets as she took up to 20 a day in a vain effort to lose weight.

An inquest was told that Mavis Fryer, 52, took more and more tablets as her weight grew to 15 stones. Her sister Averil said Ms Fryer became a recluse at her home in Eastbourne, which added to the weight problem.

David Wadman, coroner at the inquest in Eastbourne, said: "There came a time when her system could no longer stand it." Verdict: death by excessive drug intake.

Longer sentence

Conor Downey, 24, who confessed five years after the manslaughter of a barmaid whose dismembered body he distributed around London, had his sentence increased by one year to four years at the Appeal Court.

Dog hoax

A bogus council official tricked a woman in Tonypre, Mid Glamorgan, into having her dog put down after saying that neighbours had complained about barking.

Arson probe

A fire that killed an elderly man at his flat in Kenish Town, north London, may have been started deliberately. The victim's charred remains were found by firemen.

Paper work

Staff at a recycling plant in Plymouth spent five hours sifting through eight tonnes of old Christmas cards to find family photographs a woman had accidentally thrown away.

Radio violence

A man was stabbed in the arm after complaining to a neighbour in Bedford about being kept awake by his radio. A man aged 33 was arrested.

Cannabis haul

A Dutch lorry driver ran off after a tonne of cannabis worth £3 million was found in his truck at Dover.

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051 71747

Police and welfare officers may get extra powers to boost pupil attendance

Patten launches £14m crackdown on school truants

By JOHN O'LEARY
EDUCATION EDITOR

POLICE and education welfare officers may be given extra powers to deal with truants under a government drive to boost school attendance launched yesterday.

John Patten, the Education Secretary, announced a £14 million package of measures to combat the problem and cater for disruptive pupils. Among the projects is a "truancy watch" scheme in the Salford shopping centre where James Bulger was abducted a year ago.

Almost half of the 86 education authorities awarded grants are establishing watch schemes in areas where truants congregate. Traders and police will be asked to challenge absentee pupils and report persistent offenders, although Mr Patten said that other members of the public would not be encouraged to confront children.

The schemes are based on a pilot project in Stoke-on-Trent, Staffordshire. The number of teenagers arrested in the Hanley shopping centre almost halved during the four-month



period when truancy patrols were stepped up, traders refused to serve children during school hours and a hotline was operated by Staffordshire Education Authority.

The projects, part-funded by local authorities, range from a blitz on a south London high street to the declaration of truancy-free zones in Cheshire. The New Strand shopping centre, where James Bulger was abducted, will become the base for an education welfare officer.

Eileen Matthews, his grandmother, welcomed the news. "The kids use the Strand as a hiding place to stay off school," she said. "A truancy officer is necessary for the shopkeepers as well as they have had enough of these

kids. I have never known children to be able to stay off school for so long without being caught."

Mr Patten said that legislation might be needed to increase the powers of police and welfare staff because they could not make pupils return to school. The courts should also be used more frequently to bring home to "feckless" parents their legal responsibility to get children to school.

Mr Patten said the 40 per cent increase in funding for truancy and "disaffected pupils" reflected the seriousness of the problem and the Government's determination to tackle it. "I am concerned about the link between truancy, poor academic performance and crime," he said.

Only £500,000 of the £14 million will be spent on truancy-watch schemes. Other authorities are to experiment with electronic pupil registration, using central school computers to keep track of pupils, or train special support teams to deal with difficult pupils in so-called "sin-bin" units.

The common thread was a recognition that the public have a part to play in co-operating with schools and police to report truants. Mr Patten said: "We certainly don't want to have a prying and spying society, but I do think we want a society that actually cares."

The initiative received a lukewarm reception from teaching unions and from Labour. Ann Taylor, the party's education spokesman, said Mr Patten had turned his back on the most effective solution to the problem: universal nursery education.

David Hart, the general secretary of the National Association of Head Teachers, said such schemes should be supported, but had to form part of a long-term plan that was not put at risk by future cuts.



Jean Bowers, a truancy inspector, and PC Carl Jones on the look-out at Hanley

Long school day 'unnecessary'

By BEN PRESTON, EDUCATION CORRESPONDENT

GOVERNMENT inspectors will today rule out any strong connection between the length of the school day and pupils' examination results.

Their findings cast doubt on an initiative announced by John Major requiring schools to disclose weekly teaching hours in national league tables, in addition to examination and truancy statistics. The Prime Minister said in December that action was necessary to ensure that children, particularly in the inner cities, were not short-changed.

His intervention followed research showing that at least

1,000 secondary schools failed to teach for the required 24 hours a week, with pupils at some schools working the equivalent of a four-day week.

However, today's report by the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) questions the effect of such differences. It concludes that there is no strong link between classroom time and pupil achievement.

The inspectors, who based their report on visits to 35 secondaries and 29 primaries, say that extra hours may allow better coverage of the national curriculum, but this does not necessarily improve

examination results. John Patten, the Education Secretary, ordered the report two months ago after he said that the variation in teaching time between schools was unacceptably wide. At the time, he said: "Parents must wonder how one school can offer up to a day a week more teaching than another, and what effect this has. I certainly do."

David Hart, general secretary of the National Association of Head Teachers, welcomed today's report. "The Government must avoid a 'never mind the quality, feel the width' approach," he said.

Subsidised farms must go green, says Brittan

By MICHAEL HORNSBY
COUNTRYSIDE CORRESPONDENT

TAXPAYERS will be willing to subsidise farmers in future only in return for the adoption of farming methods that enhance the countryside, Sir Leon Brittan, vice-president of the European Commission, said yesterday.

In an address to the National Farmers' Union, Sir Leon said farmers could not be shielded for ever against market forces and would have to accept the opening of the European Community to low-cost produce from eastern Europe.

The warning came after a plea from David Nash, the NFU president, that agriculture should not "be sacrificed on the altar of free trade". Opening the NFU's two-day annual general meeting in London, Mr Nash said: "I cannot, and will not, go down a route whereby farmers and their farms are discarded and abandoned to the whims of a totally unregulated market."

Sir Leon, who was detained by business in Brussels and delivered his speech via a video film, said: "I think we can expect taxpayers to demand that a healthy slice of their money goes towards creating an improved countryside, with fewer chemicals and more planting of forests and hedgerows."

He predicted that public opinion would play an increasing role in shaping agricultural policy.



Sir Leon delivered speech by video



MAGAZINE

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051 1147

Rome 'agriculture fraud capital' of EC, says Tebbit

By NICHOLAS WOOD
CHIEF POLITICAL
CORRESPONDENT

A PLEDGE to abolish the "wicked, corrupting" common agricultural policy should be included in the Conservative manifesto for the European elections, says Lord Tebbit.

Branding Rome the "agriculture fraud capital of Europe", the former Conservative Party chairman said last night that at least a quarter of the £24 billion cost of the CAP was stolen every year and that the system of farm subsidies was riddled with "lunacies".

His speech, denouncing the "cheating" and law-breaking of allegedly communist governments, echoed the sentiments expressed last week by Michael Portillo in his broadside at corrupt business and academic practices abroad. But Lord Tebbit avoided the kind of blanket accusations that forced the Treasury Chief Secretary to apologise for his gaffe.

Amid gloomy forecasts of a Tory wipeout in the June poll, Lord Tebbit urged ministers to turn their backs on the "defeatist streak" within their own ranks and campaign on a platform of a robust reassertion of the rights of the nation state. The European Union was "set on a path to disaster" and would either be forced to admit that political and money-

■ The Government must target the 'wicked' common agricultural policy in its Euro manifesto, says Lord Tebbit

ary union was a mirage or collapse under the weight of its "own folly, regulations, bureaucracy, and corruption". Delivering the fifth anniversary address to the Bruges Group — the body formed to commemorate Margaret Thatcher's Bruges speech in 1988, warning of the folly of the European superstate — Lord Tebbit said that the Maastricht struggle evoked not so much the memory of Waterloo, as Douglas Hurd had implied, but Dunkirk. Britain had been seen off the field but retained the ability to fight again if it had the will.

That counterattack should begin in the Euro-election manifesto with a promise to scrap the CAP, which added £1,400 a year to the food bills of the average family. "It really is time that there was a sense of outrage against the unmitigated wickedness of the CAP. How can politicians have spent so much time and energy railing at the tax on domestic heating while simply ignoring the vastly greater, far more regressive food tax?"

"The CAP puts a tax of some £1,400 per family per year by way of needlessly high food prices. Then it taxes us all

again to finance the vast cost, some £24 billion, of subsidies... administrative costs and fraud to operate this appalling policy. And by 'us all' I really mean the Germans and the British, who do almost all the paying in the Community."

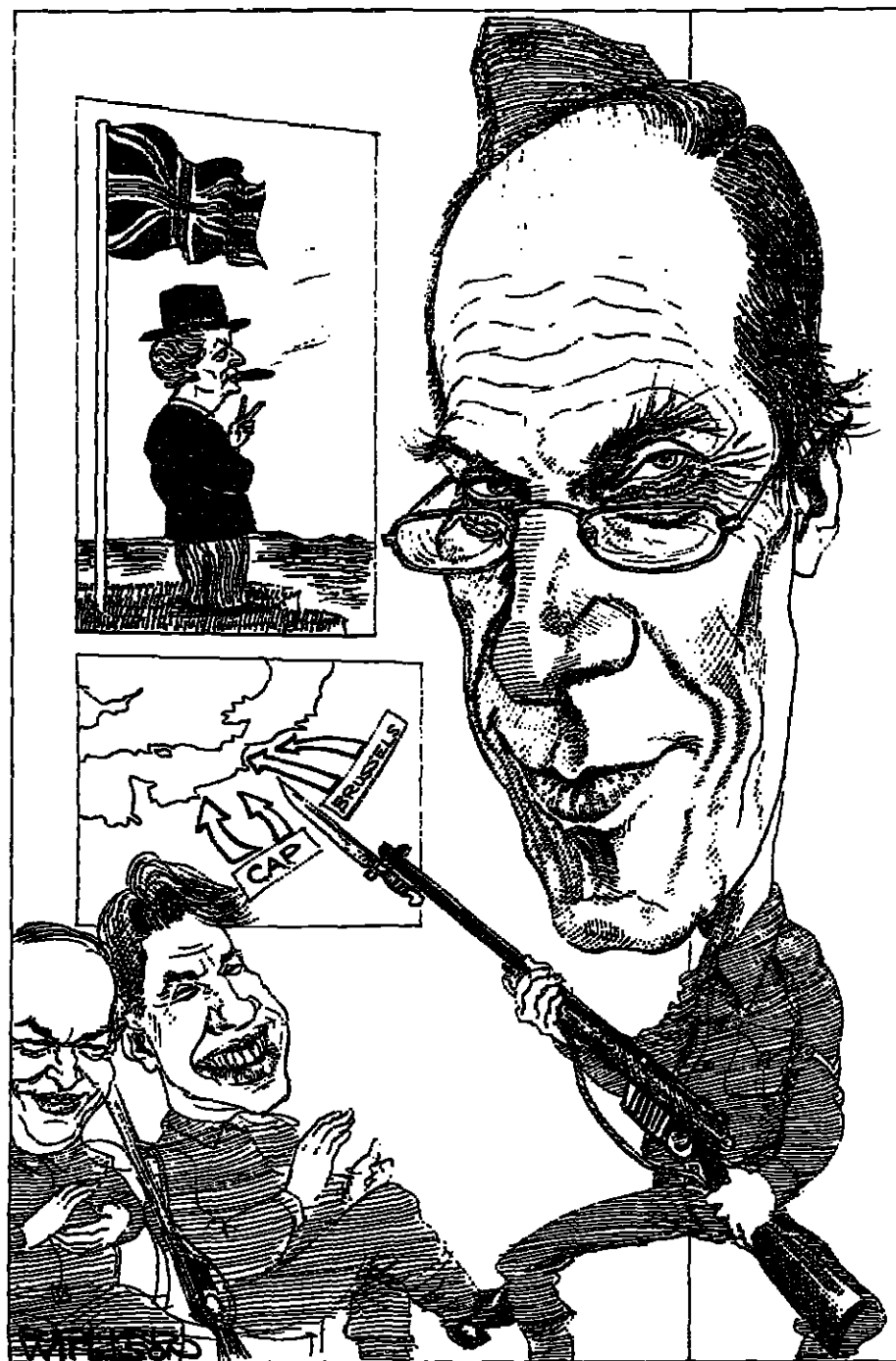
"We keep our food from low-cost producers to grow it in surplus — at high cost here, and then we dump the surplus," Lord Tebbit said.

"And there are those who live by stealing at least a quarter, perhaps a half, of the total expenditure."

"Of course, the policy is a massive fraud, but the scale of the criminal fraud identified by the EC's Court of Auditors, even as they flit lightly across the surface, is gargantuan... 'I hope I will not be foully abused for noticing that the agricultural fraud capital of Europe is Rome. Italy. It seems, defrauded the EC taxpayers... of 60 per cent of all identified losses,' he said.

"As usual, Britain lagged behind in this Euro contest. Our fraudsters were totally outclassed by the Italians and Greeks, lifting less than 3 per cent for Britain."

Alan Coren, page 16



Parties stake out the European battleground

The main parties are now manoeuvring for advantage ahead of the European elections, rather than as generals did before the age of the tank and the aircraft. Each is seeking a favourable position before battle starts in earnest in the spring. None of the commanders is a free agent. Each has to take account of rebellious subordinates. In the absence of a Marlborough or a Wellington, tactics are predictable. All parties proclaim they are pro-European, will strongly defend Britain's national interests and favour decentralisation. That disguises more than it reveals.

The Liberal Democrats yesterday produced their European policy document, *Making Europe Work For Us*. It is a skillfully written exercise in repositioning and evasion. Just as a political statement should be. The party and its predecessors have a long pro-European record. That permits the party to be distinctive, but opens it to the charge of being willing to accept anything put forward by Brussels. Conscious of the need to protect a flank against Tory attacks, the document redefines the party's European commitment.

The theme is of drift in Europe and a failure of leadership by Britain. Its promise to "put Britain at the heart of Europe and keep it there" has conscious echoes of John Major's pledge in Germany three years ago. The Liberal Democrats do not accept the EU as it is, but propose reforms to make it more democratic, decentralised and diverse.

The document dances around the word "federal", which has been presented by many Tory MPs, though not MEPs, as synonymous with a centralised Brussels superstate. The Liberal Democrats adopt the Continental version: tiers of government, ranging from European, through national and regional, to local.

This all sounds reassuring but begs several questions. The document acknow-

edges the belief of many Liberal Democrats in closer integration. It reaffirms the party's opposition to keeping foreign, defence and home affairs as matters for inter-governmental co-operation and out of the Maastricht Treaty. Its approach would mean that much of European foreign policy would be decided by majority voting, though the party accepts that British forces would not be sent into combat without the consent of the Government. The party also retains a naive enthusiasm for the European parliament. The image has been shifted a few degrees towards the centre, but the underlying message is the same.

At the weekend, Jack Cunningham, the shadow Foreign Secretary, presented Labour as the party of an active EU, promoting economic growth and social safeguards, with the Tories as the misfits of Europe. Labour has its own Euro-sceptic, especially over monetary union, but they are not in an influential position at present.

The Tory predicament is more acute. Its Euro-sceptics are more powerful, as Lord Tebbit indicated last night in a forceful reaffirmation of Baroness Thatcher's 1988 Bruges speech. A more cautious warning shot was fired last week by five young Thatcherites in the No Turning Back Group. To minimise party splits, the Tory manifesto is likely to give a Euro-sceptic gloss to pro-European policies. Any return to the exchange-rate mechanism will be fudged. The Tories will present themselves as the only party which does not want to transfer more power to Brussels.

There will be a choice on June 9. But it will be largely an artificial choice, unrelated to likely developments in the rest of Europe. Crucial decisions about Britain's place in Europe, over a single currency and the like, will again be deferred.

PETER RIDDELL

Hurd admits aid link in arms deal

By CHRISTOPHER ELLIOTT AND ARTHUR LEATHLEY

THE Government last night admitted that there was a tight formula linking aid to arms built into an outline agreement on defence sales between Britain and Malaysia.

It is a further deeply embarrassing admission by ministers which will be examined by the Commons Foreign Affairs Select Committee enquiry into the Pergau dam affair. Allegations that Malaysia was granted £234 million aid to build the dam in return for a £1.3 billion arms deal have wracked the Government for weeks. It has always firmly denied there was a link.

In the past few weeks the Government has conceded that during negotiations in March 1988 with Lord Younger, the then Defence Secretary, the Malaysians asked for aid in return for the arms deal. The Foreign Office has said their requests were rebuffed although they conceded that there was a reference to "aid in support of non-military aspects under this programme".

However, an allegation emerged last week in *The Economist* that the protocol signed by Lord Younger con-

tained a formula which provided for the Malaysians to receive aid against the arms in a percentage deal. The admission that this was true came in a one-word answer to a question from Alan Williams, a Labour member of the Public Accounts Committee.

Mr Williams asked Douglas Hurd, the Foreign Secretary, whether the protocol agreed in March 1988 "contained figures relating amounts or percentages of civil aid to arms purchases".

Alastair Goodlad, the Foreign Office Minister, replying on behalf of Mr Hurd, said: "Yes." He went on to say that Lord Younger wrote to the Malaysian finance minister in June 1988, after consultations with ministerial colleagues in London, to say that aid could not be linked to defence sales.

Chris Patten, the then Minister for Overseas Development, and Lord Howe of Aberavon were known to be strongly opposed to the granting of aid and were furious when they heard that Lord Younger had signed a deal so closely linking aid to arms.

Mr Williams said last night: "This reply destroys the Government's pretence. Not only was there a link between aid and arms sales, that link was even quantified in the March 1988 protocol."

Tom Clarke, Labour's overseas development spokesman immediately called on the Foreign Affairs Committee to broaden the Pergau enquiry which begins next month with evidence from Mr Hurd.

In Parliament

Commons (2.30): Questions: trade and industry, Sunday Trading Bill, committee, Statutory Sick Pay Bill, Lords amendments, European Communities (Amendment) Act motion.

Lords (2.30): Debates on UK dependent territories, Child Support Act and NHS administrative changes. Dangerous Dogs (Amendment) Bill.

Heseltine brandishes red-tape knife

By ALICE THOMSON
AND JONATHAN PRYNN

MICHAEL Heseltine set out new powers for ministers to sweep away red tape for business yesterday. The President of the Board of Trade, said British businesses, particularly small firms, felt increasingly "swamped by red tape."

Opening the second reading debate on the Deregulation Bill, he told MPs that in smaller companies it was often the boss who personally had to face the mountains of "garbage" forms and guidance notes from officials.

If the Bill becomes law, children aged under 14, in the company of an adult, will be allowed into pubs with a special licence. A pint of beer or cider will include

the liquid and the head. Shops will be able to stay open later than 8pm on weekdays, and more mergers will be allowed between companies without reference to the Monopolies and Mergers Commission. It will also allow ministers to sidestep normal legislation by bringing Orders which can be dealt with quickly by the Commons in a single vote.

The Government has so far published 55 regulations which could be axed with the use of this procedure. Mr Heseltine told the House that eight business task forces had identified more than 600 regulations which could be cut to ease the burden on firms. He defended the red-tape clearing powers granted to ministers by the Bill, listing the safeguards built into the legislation. These included statu-

tory consultation with interested parties and new parliamentary scrutiny committees to examine deregulation measures. He also made it clear to MPs that the Government would be prepared to consider any other suggestions for more effective scrutiny that emerged during the passage of the Bill.

Robin Cook, the shadow Trade and Industry Secretary, said the Bill would give the Government far too much power to suspend Acts of Parliament. Of the 3,500 regulations being examined, 71 per cent had been introduced since the Tories came into office in 1979. "It is not our regulations they are complaining about, it is their regulations," he said. Labour would not support any rules that would jeopardise safety standards.

Ashdown reverses defence cuts policy

PADDY Ashdown, the Liberal Democrat Leader, yesterday jettisoned the party's policy to cut defence spending, suggesting that extra resources might be needed instead (Jill Sherman writes).

Three years ago the party supported a 50 per cent reduction in defence spending by the end of the century, though this was modified to "an aspiration" last year. Yesterday Mr Ashdown made it clear that, given the events in Bosnia, this position was no longer tenable. "We were all much more optimistic in 1989 than we are in a position to be in 1994," he said yesterday.

"In my view substantial

defence cuts are not in prospect. Indeed, reshaping could well cost money." Mr Ashdown said that the party intended to carry out a comprehensive defence policy review before setting out its new strategy. Launching his party's new policy document on Europe, Mr Ashdown tried to play down suggestions that the Liberal Democrats intended to water down their support of a "federal" Europe. He insisted that the word "federalism" still appeared in the report, but made it clear that this equated with decentralisation rather than a centralised superstate.



KEENE on CHESS

By RAYMOND KEENE
CHESS CORRESPONDENT

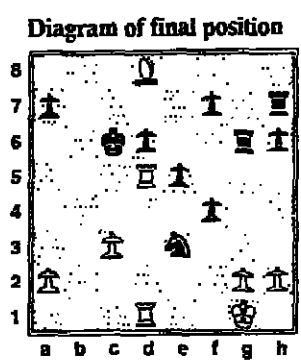
Younger and younger

After the remarkable performance by the Hungarian 14-year-old Peter Leko in becoming the world's youngest grandmaster news is coming in of a further extraordinary performance by the 11-year-old French prodigy Etienne Bacrot. Already an official holder of the master title Bacrot made a remarkable 50% score in the grandmaster tournament at Nice. After three rounds the 11-year-old was even leading with a 100% score. In the following game he easily despatched an experienced French international master, officially rated 200 points above his vanquisher.

White: Santo-Roman
Black: Etienne Bacrot
Nice 1994

Sicilian Defence

1	e4		
2	Nf3	c5	
3	c3	Nf6	
4	Bb2	Nbd7	
5	d3	b6	
6	Ng5	e6	
7	f4	h6	
8	Nh3	c4	
9	exd4	Nxb4	
10	d-d4	Bb7	
11	Bg3	Bb7	
12	Ra1	Nd6	



Winning Move, page 48

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Clinton health plan jeopardised by budget manoeuvre

FROM WOLFGANG MÜNCHAU
IN WASHINGTON

PRESIDENT Clinton's health care programme was heading for a further setback yesterday with the Congressional Budget Office due to make a "technical" recommendation, whose practical effect would be to turn the plan into a giant tax-and-spend programme.

The CBO was expected to recommend that the health proposals should become part of the budget, which in effect would define spending by a federal health alliance as public spending, while the premiums received from individuals and employers would be counted as official receipts. As a result, both government spending and revenues would be boosted significantly.

As part of its health proposals, the Clinton Administration is also supporting one of the most stringent anti-smoking laws ever proposed by Congress, which would ban smoking in almost all public buildings.

The proposal to view the health care package as public spending would give credence to the Republican argument that Mr Clinton's health reforms are nothing less than an old Democratic tax-and-spend policy that aims to replace a

■ Congress is ready to tamper with the finances of the President's reform package. Meanwhile, he is pressing ahead for a smoking ban in most public buildings

high-quality private health care with a government-run bureaucracy.

The White House is keen to keep these provisions "off-budget". This is necessary in order to fulfil one of the Clinton Administration's principal claims in the health care debate: that reform will not increase the budget deficit in the short run and will decrease it in the long term.

The CBO's expected recommendation is the latest setback for the health reform plan, after three influential business groups last week rejected the programme. The Business Roundtable, which represents large companies, put its weight behind a rival Democratic alternative that would be less onerous on employers than the Clinton plan, but which does promise comprehensive health care.

Another accounting question hangs over the so-called employer mandate, one of the most controversial parts of the Clinton health reforms, which would compel companies to

pay up to 7.9 per cent of the payroll expenses in health premiums for their employees. Republicans would like these revenues to be counted as taxes, as opposed to mere "receipts", which would then give them even more ammunition in the propaganda battle over health care.

The proposed smoking ban comes on the heels of a study last year by the Environmental Protection Agency which claimed that passive smoking causes 3,000 lung cancer deaths annually and 300,000 cases of bronchitis and pneumonia in children.

The British Government disclosed earlier this week that UK deaths from lung cancer among non-smokers ran to "several hundred" a year. In a written Lords answer, Baroness Cumberlege, a junior health minister, said it was estimated that "around one non-smoker a day dies from lung cancer". She described passive smoking as "a significant public health issue in its own right".

Failure of shuttle test deepens Nasa woe

BY NIGEL HAWKES
SCIENCE EDITOR

THE crew on board the space shuttle Discovery has been forced to abandon the main scientific aim of the mission.

The \$13.5 million Wake Shield satellite, which was supposed to dangle 45 miles behind Discovery creating ultra-pure semi-conductors in the cleanliness of space, was yesterday still attached to the end of the shuttle's 50ft robot arm. A series of mishaps prevented the deployment of the satellite, a prototype space factory which would have proved whether space manufacture has a future.

The Wake Shield device has made some gallium arsenide crystals from its position on the end of the arm, but they are likely to be tainted by proximity to the shuttle. They may be a little better than can be grown on Earth, but not much, flight controllers fear.

"We expect to get reasonable quality materials, although not the optimal material we were striving for," said Wake Shield scientist Alex Ignatiev, of the Space Vacuum Epitaxy Centre at the University of Houston. Glare from the Sun, radio interference and a failed guidance sensor frustrated astronauts' efforts, and they were told to stop trying.

Another failure will be less keenly felt. An attempt by Soviet cosmonaut Sergei Krikalev, a guest on the shuttle, to get through to Mars — not the planet, but a town in Pennsylvania — drew a blank. A question from Ben Frisbee, 13, a pupil at Mars Area Middle School, went unanswered because the connection was poor.

The crew did talk to President Clinton, who said he had applied to become an astronaut. "I haven't been accepted yet," he admitted.

Yesterday Nasa announced a \$251 million (£168 million) cut in next year's budget and \$281 million less for the space shuttle programme. But Mr Clinton said this would not undermine construction of the redesigned international space station, which accounts for \$2.1 billion in the new budget. "This is not a pet



President Clinton pondering Nasa's troubles while touring the Johnson Space Centre at Houston. He was wearing his new ostrich-skin cowboy boots

project," President Clinton said as he toured the Johnson Space Centre in Houston, Texas. "This is a major part of America's high-technology future."

The Administration's 1995 budget for the space agency is \$14.3 billion — about \$251 million less than the previous year — with increases for new technology, aeronautics, com-

puters and global warming research.

Russian cosmonauts on the space station Mir used a television hook-up yesterday to send a "good luck" greeting to their colleague on Discovery. With the shuttle more than 200 miles over the South Pacific and Mir high over the Caribbean, cosmonaut Valeri Polyakov addressed Krikalev

during a broadcast on ABC television's *Good Morning America*.

"We have flown for a long time with Sergei," Polyakov said in Russian. "I just want to wish him successful work among his American colleagues, and a safe return to Earth." Krikalev answered: "Greetings. I hear you loud and clear."

Mudslide devastates areas hit by US quake

FROM REUTERS
IN LOS ANGELES

A FIERCE winter storm brought more misery and destruction to areas of California devastated by wildfires and last month's earthquake, burying homes in torrents of mud, trapping residents and washing away cars.

More than a dozen expensive beachfront homes were inundated by mudslides in the Malibu star colony, 20 miles west of Los Angeles, as rain-soaked hillsides, stripped of vegetation by last year's raging fires, suddenly gave way. Some people became trapped in their homes and were rescued by city workers who picked them up in the scoops of bulldozers and earthmovers and drove them to safety.

Hundreds of people were ordered to leave, and many were seen streaming out of the area in cars, vans and on foot, carrying whatever belongings they could grab. No injuries were reported. "I've never seen anything like it, a wall of water and mud coming down the hillside," one resident said.

The mudslides were the latest blow to an area that has been struggling to recover from the January 17 earthquake which killed 60 people, damaged or destroyed more than 20,000 homes and caused losses estimated at \$30 billion (£20 billion).

Seaside homes belonging to stars and entertainment industry executives in Malibu faced the double threat of mudslides from the mountains and 8ft waves crashing in from the Pacific.

Police reported walls of mud sweeping across the Pacific Coast Highway from the mountains and through the doors of homes, carrying furniture out of ocean-facing doors and on to the beach. The road was buried in 4ft of mud and water in places.

Vera Smith, who escaped from her car before it was swept away, said: "I turned the corner to go up the hill and as I looked to make the next curve, there was this huge bank of mud coming toward me. Unbelievable."

Photograph, page 22

Sub leak threatens Bermuda

FROM IAN BRODIE IN WASHINGTON

A SUNKEN Soviet nuclear submarine was leaking radiation into the Atlantic in an area of strong currents 500 miles east of Bermuda, and there is concern over how far the hazard will spread.

A Russian-American monitoring group may be formed to determine whether the radiation is moving towards Bermuda or fishing grounds, Charles Hollister, a scientist at the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution on Cape Cod, said yesterday.

He learned of Russian concerns about the submarine last week during an international symposium in St Petersburg. In private, the Russians admitted that the missiles and



warheads from the submarine were "badly damaged and scattered on the sea floor", Dr Hollister said. Nikolai Nosov, a Russian submarine designer, was certain that corroded warheads were leaking both plutonium and uranium.

The Yankee-class submarine was crippled in October 1986 by an explosion of liquid fuel and although surfacing, it later sank. According to the Americans, the submarine had the highest concentration of radioactivity of any of the many sources dumped accidentally or on purpose on the sea bed. In addition to two nuclear reactors, it carried two torpedoes and 16 nuclear missiles.

Despite the speed of the bottom currents, half a mile an hour, Dr Hollister did not think radioactivity had reached Bermuda. He said it may not have moved more than a few miles towards the British dependency.

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Sarajevo market massacre forces Clinton to abandon role of passive bystander

US poised to intervene against Bosnian Serbs

FROM MARTIN FLETCHER
IN WASHINGTON

THE blast from the shell that caused such carnage in Sarajevo's market last Saturday appears finally to have persuaded the Clinton Administration that the price of further American temporising now exceeds the cost of involvement.

After three days of hand-wringing and urgent top-level meetings, President Clinton and his top advisers were yesterday leaning towards a demand similar to that of France for the removal within four to seven days of all heavy artillery within an approximately 20-mile radius of the besieged Bosnian capital.

As part of a package of new proposals, for which the US will seek Nato's endorsement in Brussels today, United Nations forces in Sarajevo would be provided with US radar equipment capable of pinpointing Serb artillery positions in the surrounding hills. The ultimatum would then be enforced through Nato air strikes.

Facing strong European pressure, the Administration is also expected more actively to pursue a diplomatic solution to the conflict. It still refuses to put pressure on the Muslims to accept a peace settlement, but may seek to pin them down on what precise territorial amendments to the present partition plan they require to satisfy their political and security requirements.

Key details of the package were still being worked out yesterday. While Warren



MATE Boban, left, the Bosnian Croat leader, yesterday bowed to the inevitable and formally resigned (Eve-Ana Prentice writes). Mr Boban was effectively replaced last month when Mile Akmadzic, the man who is likely to succeed him, represented the republic's Croats at the Geneva peace talks.

Mr Boban handed his resignation as head of the self-proclaimed Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna to the territory's 42-member parliament.

Christopher, the Secretary of State, has now joined Tony Lake, the National Security Adviser, in the air-strike camp.

William Perry, the Defence Secretary, continues to give warnings of the limitations of bombing in the difficult Bosnian terrain. The Pentagon is also worried about the danger of US forces being sucked deeper into the conflict if American pilots were to be shot down or if the Serbs continued to pound Sarajevo with shells.

Mr Christopher was telephoning his Nato counterparts to rally their support. Those considered most averse to air strikes are Greece, Spain, Denmark and Canada. A senior emissary was also sent to Moscow to try to overcome Russian opposition. Saturday's shelling came at the worst possible time for Mr Clinton, who needs to devote all his energies to the battle for his troubled health care plan. At the same time it has made further US passivity in Bosnia almost impossible.

Nato's unity and credibility are now at stake, and America's failure to respond to an outrage on the scale of Saturday's would lay shamefully bare what one US commentator dubbed its "new diplomacy" of high gesture and low commitment.

During the 1992 presidential campaign, Mr Clinton rebuked President Bush for his hands-off approach to Bosnia, although an ulterior motive was to demonstrate his toughness on military matters. During his first months in office, Mr Clinton and Mr Christopher cast Bosnia as a key test of the West's ability to deter aggression in the post-Cold War world and repeatedly threatened action against the Serbs.

All that changed dramatically after Britain and France rebuffed Mr Clinton's plan to arm the Muslims and America's military involvement in Somalia went so badly awry. Public support for US military intervention in Bosnia evaporated. The new policy

was to play down the conflict, portray it as a local European problem and essentially stay on the sidelines.

"Senior US government officials know that Serb leaders are waging genocide in Bosnia but will not say so in plain English because this would raise the pressures for US action," Richard Johnson, one of many disgruntled State Department Balkans experts, wrote in December in a paper entitled *The Pin-Stripe Approach to Genocide*.

Administration spokesmen ceased speaking about Serb atrocities or their flagrant violation of UN resolutions, and Bosnia dropped from the public's sight. The US tried, but failed, to keep the conflict off last month's Nato summit agenda.

Mr Clinton's sole mention of Bosnia during his hour-long State of the Union speech last month was a boast about the US humanitarian airlift. The US took steps to prevent the conflict spreading to neighbouring Macedonia, but refused to press the "aggravated" Muslims to accept a European peace plan that US ground troops would have to enforce.

Mr Clinton once compared Bosnia to the Holocaust, but late last month he sounded like no one so much as Mr Bush.

"I don't think the international community has the capacity to stop people within that nation from their civil war until they decide to do it," he lamented.

Major's warning, page 1
Letters, page 17



Ukrainian soldiers of the United Nations peacekeeping forces cross themselves in a church in Nikolayev, Ukraine, before leaving for Sarajevo yesterday

Sad city rekindles Olympic memories

FROM JOEL BRAND
IN SARAJEVO

A FEW Sarajevans sorrowfully commemorated the anniversary of their own Olympic Games yesterday, reflecting on how the city has changed in ten short years.

Most of the sites where the 1984 Winter Olympics were held are now in rebel Serb hands, with many used as military positions from which the Bosnian capital is pumelled.

The bobbed run is on the Serb side of the front line. Jahorina mountain, where the women's alpine events were staged, is also in Serb hands and is now the site of their parallel Olympic festival — they are not a recognised Olympic country.

The Olympic flame itself is in the Zetra stadium, which many will remember from the opening ceremonies. However, visiting the site is ill-advised. It is just under the rebels' guns and visitors are often sniped at.

The ice rink where Jane Torvill and Christopher Dean skated to Olympic gold was mostly destroyed early in the war, together with most of the city's cultural and historic buildings. Now the indoor stadium is inhabited by a battalion of French United Nations troops.

On Monday night, Sarajevo television replayed the opening ceremonies from the 1984 Games: a different time that many here have trouble believing is true. "Sometimes I can't believe I lived in a city like that," said Aida Smalhodzic, 30, a coach for the Bosnian girls' gymnastics team. One month ago, she was wounded in the arm by a shell.

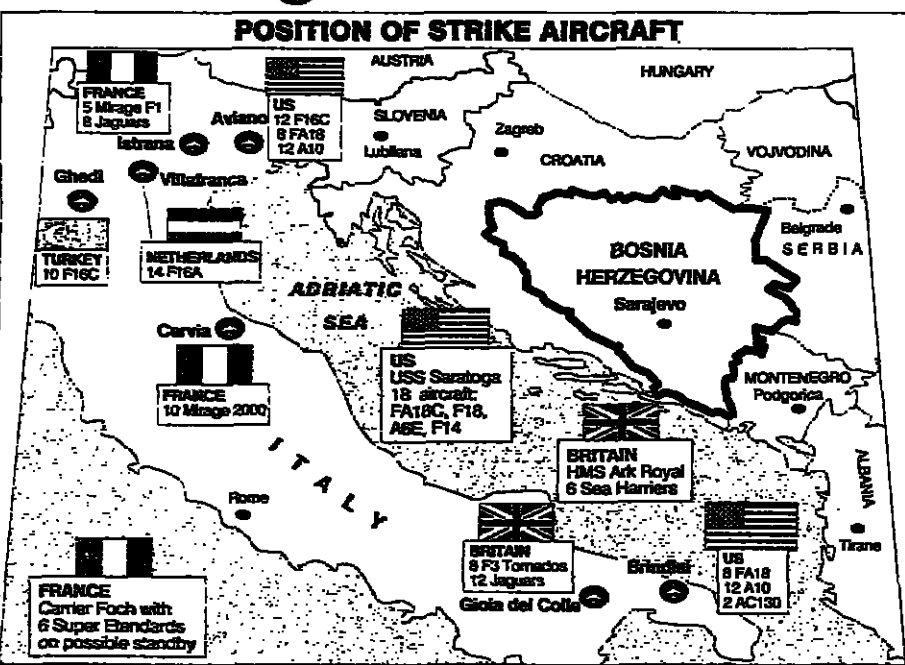
Bojan and Dada Hadzihalilovic are Sarajevo designers who held an exhibition commemorating the Olympic anniversary. The couple, under the name Trio, have produced a growing series of Sarajevo postcards, making light of their plight, but also reminding the world of the city's suffering.

They designed a special set for the Olympic anniversary. One has the Olympic rings made out of barbed wire with 1984-1994 below. Another has a pistol pointed outwards with the caption "Let the Games begin". A third has the Olympic rings drawn in blood.

At the national theatre, 300 Sarajevans marked the anniversary, and young girls sang the song of the closing ceremony ten years ago: "Good-bye Sarajevo."

Nato gambles on force to break artillery stranglehold

FROM MICHAEL EVANS, DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT, IN SPLIT



NATO will today take a gamble with the Bosnian Serbs, the consequence of which could either be the hoped-for "turning point" for the suffering people of Sarajevo, at one extreme, or humiliation for the alliance at the other.

All the Nato countries, with the possible exception of Greece, are expected to vote at the North Atlantic Council (NAC) meeting for an ultimatum to the Serbs to withdraw their artillery from around the Bosnian capital or face air strikes. This time there can be no fudging. The long-term reputation of the alliance is at stake as well as the future of Sarajevo. Nato cannot afford to be humiliated by the Serbs.

If they refuse to meet the deadline, Nato will have no choice but to send in the bombers. But once the bombs have fallen, what then? Will the Serbs brush aside Nato and carry on as before?

Senior military commanders recognise the risks of being humiliated by the Serb gunners. A single air raid, however successful in demolishing the designated

targets, would be seen as punitive gesture bombing unless Nato were prepared to follow it up.

However, the whole thrust of Nato's policy has changed in the past few days. Britain and most other members of the alliance are now against punitive action. The strategy, to be outlined in Brussels today, is more positive: to use the atrocity to force the Serbs to make a significant concession over Sarajevo, knowing that if they refuse, approval for bombing has been given at the highest level.

It is possible that the ultimatum could also be a turning point for the Serbs. They have achieved most of their territorial ambitions, and for some time have remained in defensive positions.

The last thing they need is military confrontation with Nato, not least because air strikes would be seen by the Muslims as attacks carried out on their behalf. It would, therefore, make it even less likely that the Bosnian government would agree a three-way territorial split of Bosnia on terms best suited to the

Serbs. Under the proposal, discussed yesterday at the Cabinet's overseas and defence policy committee, the purpose would be to use the threat of air strikes to bring about the kind of deal for Sarajevo that is already part of the overall peace settlement devised by Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg, the international peace negotiators: a demilitarised city, protected by the United Nations.

If the plan succeeds, the Government's advisers believe the death of 60 people in Sarajevo last Saturday could have a positive outcome and produce the turning point that ministers have been talking about in the lead-up to today's NAC meeting.

However, in order for the gamble to work, it appears to be the view that the Serbs will have to be given something in return, which would amount to a guarantee that the UN would seek to stop Muslim troops from taking advantage of a Serb withdrawal by advancing from the capital and seizing the strategic positions above the city.

'Neutral' Swedes gave Attlee secrets

FROM NICHOLAS GEORGE IN STOCKHOLM

SWEDEN'S much-vaunted image of neutrality in the Cold War took a knock yesterday when it was revealed that its secret defence plans were handed to Britain in the 1950s.

A report also disclosed that air bases in eastern Sweden were specially lengthened at that time to accept Nato planes and that two ports on the west coast were ordered to have sufficient capacity to accommodate a Nato naval force.

The information was uncovered by a government-appointed commission set up to examine Swedish military co-operation with the allies during the Cold War. During this period, Sweden made much of its claim that it was siding with neither East nor West and not becoming involved in any great alliance system.

However, the report shows that much of Sweden's military planning was devoted to preparing sites for Nato aid if the country should come under attack from the Soviet Union. Sweden fought its last war against Russia in 1812, losing Finland.

The plans were dispatched to the Labour Government of Clement Attlee in 1951 with the consent of Tage Erlander, the Prime Minister. In return Sweden was given details of how the West would aid Sweden if it were attacked.

Although Carl Bildt, the present Foreign Minister, said he regarded the matter as "closed", any repercussions would help his government, which is eager to become more active in Western European defence organisations.

Dreyfus saga snares colonel

FROM CHARLES BREMNER IN PARIS

ONE hundred years since Captain Alfred Dreyfus was convicted of treason, the affair claimed another victim yesterday when the French defence minister removed the chief of the forces' history department for issuing an account which whitewashed the army.

François Léotard ordered the action against Colonel Paul Gaujac after the left-wing *Liberation* pounced on the armed forces magazine for its contribution to the mountain of articles, books and broadcasts now marking the centenary of France's most painful scandal.

Though Dreyfus was vindicated in 1906, the anguish the case generated over anti-Semitism and national honour still rumbles on. The artillery officer's name is still taboo in the army, which never reversed the verdicts of its two courts-

martial. In 1985, the army obstructed an attempt by the Socialist government to put a statue of Dreyfus in the Ecole Militaire in Paris.

The army's new version, written by Colonel Gaujac's department, sparked anger because it implied doubt over Dreyfus's innocence. This was established by the civilian appeal court, after Dreyfus had served four years of a life term on Devil's Island.

The incriminating note found by a maid in a rubbish bin in the German embassy had, it was proved, been written by another officer spying for the Germans and not by Dreyfus. The army article spoke of this only as the "thesis generally accepted by historians".

Jean-Denis Bredin, author of an authoritative Dreyfus history, said the army article

"is not only inaccurate and obviously a caricature. It also translates the persistence of the old anti-Dreyfusard mentality". In keeping with the conspiratorial atmosphere



Dreyfus anguish of the case rumbles on

that still shrouds Dreyfus polemics, M Bredin said the army article was the latest "forged document" to cloud the affair.

In the build-up to the centenary, analysis of the scandal is still coloured by old ideologies. The left-wing intelligentsia, for whom the Dreyfus affair is a founding myth, are using it as an opportunity to air warnings over the revival of nationalism. Right-wing commentators are taking another tack, citing the furor and the subsequent vindication as proof of France's democracy and sense of justice.

"In how many other countries would they have sacrificed Reason d'Etat to the repair of an injustice," asked Daniel Anson, a Paris lawyer, in the conservative *Quotidien de Paris*.

Armenians seek help for Karabakh solution

BY LOUISE HIDALGO

ARMENIA and Britain agreed yesterday to redouble international efforts to find an end to the bloody conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh, the longest-running dispute on former Soviet soil which has now cost more than 15,000 lives.

President Ter-Petrossian of Armenia, who will meet John Major today, is the first Armenian head of state to visit Britain since King Leonid Y came to seek Richard II's help against the Seljuk Turks 700 years ago. The war, he said, was in real danger of becoming an international problem.

Despite much evidence to the contrary, the Armenian government has always denied any direct involvement in the conflict, but the latest Azerbaijani offensive, its most ferocious yet, has renewed nationalist opposition pleas in

the enclave for Armenian intervention to protect the Armenians in Karabakh.

In the capital, Yerevan, there is no more than two hours' electricity a day. Only a handful of the country's 450 factories are working and schools have been shut since November. Tree stumps lining the road into the capital testify to people's desperate search for warmth.

With the introduction last year of a new currency, the dram, to replace the shatterd old Soviet rouble, prices spiralled by 1,000 per cent almost overnight. The monthly old age pension now hardly stretches to three eggs, while a litre of kerosene — at \$1.67 — costing the average monthly salary for those Armenians in work — is beyond the means of most.



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Troubles in three continents keep Hurd in a global whirl



Hurd: stamina leaves many officials wilting

By MICHAEL BINYON, DIPLOMATIC EDITOR

DOUGLAS Hurd, the Foreign Secretary, has postponed for 24 hours a four-day visit due to begin today to South Africa and Swaziland because of the intense diplomatic activity over Bosnia.

If he manages to leave tomorrow, he will then go directly from Africa to Moscow, where he will join John Major on an official visit. He will have travelled some 10,000 miles, dealing with crises in three continents. While in South Africa, he will be in constant touch with Mr Major and military commanders to co-ordinate policy in Bosnia; in Moscow, he will be expected to follow the reaction to his talks with President de Klerk, Nelson Mandela, the African National Congress president, and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Inkatha leader.

More than ever, the job of Foreign Secretary has become a

whirlwind of travel, summits, consultations and crisis meetings, demanding the switching of attention at a moment's notice from the details of one set of negotiations to situations halfway across the world. Mr Hurd, although looking occasionally tired, has a stamina that leaves many of his officials wilting. Nevertheless, the Foreign Office is sensitive to accusations that Mr Hurd travels too much. Officials insisted yesterday that the visit to South Africa was vital to British interests: with 250,000 British citizens there and more than a billion pounds worth of trade, it would be "very perverse" not to pay close attention to South Africa in the run-up to the elections in which Britain would be closely involved in monitoring.

The diary of engagements imposes a straitjacket on Mr Hurd. This week's visit was planned

■ Following the sort of punishing routine first adopted by Henry Kissinger, Douglas Hurd will be involved over the next week in the woes of Bosnia, Hong Kong, Russia and South Africa

months ago, as was the Prime Minister's trip to Moscow. No one anticipated the morar in Sarajevo. Cutting a day from the South African visit would mean scrapping most of the commercial meetings. Mr Hurd will then barely have time to digest messages on the flight to Moscow before immersing himself in Russian politics.

Yesterday he had to switch attention again to the former Soviet Union at a meeting with President Ter-Petrosian of Armenia. Hours earlier he was reporting to the Commons select committee on foreign affairs about Chinese warnings that British

firms could lose ground because of disagreements on Hong Kong. All ministers have to master detailed briefs on a range of topics: few have a range as wide as foreign affairs, and none is required to travel so much. European meetings now take up as much time each week as all the international gatherings attended by a Foreign Secretary in one year: a generation ago, Nato, the Western European Union and the European Union demand regular attendance. Mr Hurd once remarked that he saw his French counterpart more often than he did any of his Cabinet colleagues. In London, the daily procession

of visiting ministers, ambassadors and political leaders means that up to a third of the working day can be taken up in talks and entertaining. Many meetings can be farmed out: the Foreign Office ministers, Baroness Chalker, Douglas Hogg, David Heathcoat-Amory, Alistair Goodlad and Mark Lennox-Boyd saw between them 11 foreign statesmen in the first two days of the week, including Anatolij Gorbunov, Speaker of the Latvian parliament, Dame Eugenia Charles, Prime Minister of Dominica, Shaharyar Khan, permanent secretary in Pakistan's Foreign Ministry, and Owen Arthur, Barbados opposition leader.

Since Henry Kissinger established a punishing vanguard, all Western Foreign Ministers are peripatetic. The Germans used to joke of their former minister: "What is the difference between God and Hans-Dietrich Genscher? Answer: God is every-

where, and Genscher is everywhere except Bonn." To reduce the workload, travel arrangements have to be meticulously arranged so meetings do not overrun, appointments are not missed and press briefings — increasingly vital — are not skipped.

Mr Hurd may find himself asked in South Africa about Bosnia, or in Russia about Nato, or in Brussels about South Africa. He must have a ready answer to all, sometimes after a night travelling on the plane followed by six hours of talks and an official banquet.

□ **Warning discounted:** Mr Hurd advised British businessmen to pay no attention to reported warnings by Ma Yuzhen, the Chinese ambassador, that their firms could lose out. Mr Hurd said: "That kind of discrimination for political reasons is something which the European Union would have to take very seriously and would take very seriously."

Unions adrift as German jobless total exceeds 4m

FROM ROGER BOYES IN BONN

FOR the first time in modern Germany, the jobless total is above four million. The 4,029,000 figure was announced yesterday by the federal employment office and was seized on by electioneering politicians and bargaining trade union leaders.

Although the total was swollen by seasonal factors, the message was clear: even if Germany escapes from its recession this year, the social damage is likely to continue for a long time.

The opposition Social Democrats have confidently made job creation their chief cause in the run-up to the 18 local, state and national polls to be held in the next nine months.

Kohl delay

Bonn: Helmut Kohl's government has decided to delay the politically sensitive question of dual citizenship for Turks and other foreign residents (Roger Boyes writes).

Leading politicians from the ruling coalition said yesterday there was no chance of a draft law on the issue being considered before the October general elections. Turkish groups stepped up their campaign for dual citizenship after the murder of five Turks in an arson attack in Solingen last year.

But the immediate effect of the disappearing jobs and the stubborn recession is a failure of courage. Politicians nervously gearing up for the elections are wary of risk. Bureaucrats put off decisions, courts delay sensitive verdicts, couples are suspending wedding plans. The most telling failure is of the union movement, threatening strikes even while it prepares retreat.

"No sell-out" said a large placard held by demonstrators outside the Cologne headquarters of IG Metall, the metal workers' union, this week. Union leaders and em-

ployers' representatives were trying to find a middle way between a union wage demand of about 6 per cent and the employers' proposed wage freeze. The employers also want cuts in the extra holiday money paid to every worker, changes in sick leave, hard thinking on the "13th month" bonus, and commitment to flexible working time. Metal workers seem willing to reduce their wage claim, perhaps to the 2 per cent accepted by workers in the chemical industry, if the employers guarantee no redundancies.

And there is the nub. German unions have seen the balance of power shift decisively to employers. They have boxed themselves into a corner: the unions are now a serious obstacle to the urgently necessary reform of the economy. How can any steel employer promise to maintain job levels when the industry is contracting quickly? Either the unions will have to desert their members, or the employers will sign a non-redundancy pact destined to be ripped up before the end of the summer.

The recession has put an end to the cosiness between workers and managers. The scope for compromise has shrunk. Unification shattered the consensual model of industrial relations. The unions were slow to realise this. They rejoiced that their numbers jumped from eight million in 1990 to 12 million in 1991.

But that could not disguise a long-term decline and erosion of union power. By 1992, 800,000 members had left the unions; today 30,000 are deserting monthly. With unemployment above four million and a further two million people on job-creation schemes or part-time work, the unions are beginning to look irrelevant. Worse, they are actively blocking the changes essential to the modernisation of Germany.

Some union chiefs would rather strike for a few marks than tackle the problem of overhauling Germany's outdated labour relations.



A tearful Tonya Harding is surrounded by persistent photographers in the streets of Beaverton, Oregon. Her story has what it takes to interest Hollywood, where ambitious film-makers are already thinking of it in terms of multi-million-dollar business

Moguls make drama out of real-life crisis

FROM GILES WHITTILL IN LOS ANGELES AND CHARLES BRENNER IN PARIS

With the Winter Olympics only two days away, the United States Olympic Committee has still not ruled on whether Tonya Harding, allegedly party to an iron-bar attack on the knee of Nancy Kerrigan, her rival, will represent her country in the figure-skating competition.

Whatever happens in sporting boardrooms and out on the ice, however, the movie deals are in the bag. Film packages, who turn real life's strange twists into multi-million-dollar business propositions, were on to Kerrigan's case before the swelling on her knee had gone down.

Agents for at least 50 production companies crowded into Los Angeles hotel suites last month to bid for the rights to the "good girls" side of the story. Only in the past few days has packaging ace Rob Lee come out on top. For Kerrigan the deal is said to involve \$500,000 (£335,000).

Harding may not be so lucky. The assault on her rival may yet put her in prison, where she would not be

allowed to receive the proceeds of film and sponsorship deals. Nevertheless, her story has what it takes to interest Hollywood, namely "flow, climax, pay-off and dramatic structure", according to Mr Lee. Sources cited by *Daily Variety* say Fox Television is involved in filming Harding's story and hopes to have it ready by May.

True-life stories do not have to be ghastly to be made into films. Mirsada Buric, a Bosnian Olympic runner rescued from Sarajevo by a hospital worker from Arizona whom she has since married, sold an option on the film rights to her story last weekend and will use the money to bring out the rest of her family. A touch of the macabre helps. Two other "based-on" currently in production retell the story of the Menendez brothers, whose epic trial for the alleged murder of their millionaire parents in Beverly Hills ended in a deadlock last month. The trial gripped cable television audiences.

The Hollywood film industry holds no monopoly on dealing with alleged

criminals. Organisers of the American Music Awards were in hot water on Monday night when they chose "gangsta" rapper Snoop Doggy Dogg to perform at the awards ceremony. Dogg, whose *Doggystyle* debut album was one of last year's biggest successes, is currently free on bail charged with involvement in a drive-by shooting. But it was Whitney Houston's night. She won seven of the eight categories for which she was nominated and a special "Award of Merit".

Across the Atlantic, there was more showbusiness controversy when the French music industry handed out its award for the most exported record of the year. To the chagrin of Jacques Toubon, the Culture Minister, the winner was Jordy Lemoine, the six-year-old rapper whose hit, *Dur, dur d'être bébé* (Hard, hard to be a baby), has sold 1.6 million copies outside France. It was hardly a choice to find favour with a government trying to promote *la chanson française* and sell more of it

abroad. M Toubon and the stars of the Gallic musical scene watched on Monday night as little Jordy was subjected to a grilling against a background of jeering and booing from the 4,000 audience at the Palais des Congrès. "Jordy, what impression does it make on you to sell 1.6 million records abroad?" the master of ceremonies asked over a live link to Jordy's home. No answer. "OK, so where do you like the ice cream best?" Still no response, although Patricia Clerget, Jordy's mother, who is about to move the family to a chateau in Normandy, thanked the television crew for coming along to "help preserve that most wonderful thing — Jordy's childhood". Attacking the alleged greed of Jordy's parents, *France Soir* said his appearances were all a scandal. "This kid, condemned without appeal to forced labour for sordid reasons, is in the process of missing his own childhood," the paper fumed.

Olympic countdown, page 43

NEWS IN BRIEF

Red Cross pleads for Afghan civilians

Geneva: The International Committee of the Red Cross called on the Afghan government and rebels to spare civilians in their battles that have killed 900 people and wounded more than 10,000 this year.

The agency said hospital personnel and patients were protected under law. Nearly all aid agencies have left Kabul. However, Red Cross delegates are continuing to dispense medicines. (Reuters)

Leading article, page 17

Egypt visitor

Cairo: The arrival in Egypt of President Klesil of Austria coincided with a warning from Islamic militants to all foreigners to leave the country. Three bombs were planted at city banks.

Tax apology

Tokyo: Morihiro Hosokawa, the Japanese Prime Minister, apologised for sparking a crisis over a new tax and said he accepted his coalition partners' terms for the economic stimulus package. (Reuters)

Rights upheld

Jerusalem: The Israeli Supreme Court has ordered ultra-orthodox rabbinical courts, which control Jewish marriages and divorces, to grant women equal property rights in divorce. (AFP)

British abroad

New York: Britons will overtake the Japanese as America's most avid tourists, according to research by the US Travel and Tourism Administration. The number is expected to reach 3.5 million.

Austerity spirit

Moscow: Russia's biggest vodka distillery, which produces the Stolichnaya brand, sent staff on two weeks' unpaid leave. The Kristall plant is reeling under foreign competition and taxes. (Reuters)

Love letters

Paris: Yves Saint Laurent, the French fashion house, said it would post 200,000 condoms in Paris on St Valentine's Day to promote its men's clothing and safe sex. (Reuters)

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Knesset row over Congo mercenaries

FROM RICHARD BEESTON IN JERUSALEM

YITZHAK Rabin, the Israeli Prime Minister, has come under intense pressure to halt the activities of scores of Israeli mercenaries recruited by Congo to put down a bloody year-old rebellion.

In an affair that could snowball into a political scandal, the Israeli leader, who also serves as Defence Minister, is facing tough questioning in the Knesset over why his ministry approved a licence for some 60 former servicemen to assist the Congolese forces.

Since disputed elections last May and June, nearly 300 people have been killed in the Central African state during clashes between government forces and heavily armed opposition militias.

The head of the Israeli military team has been identified as retired Brigadier General Zeev Zacharin, a former paratrooper officer who once commanded Israeli forces in southern Lebanon. He is currently in Brazzaville, the Congolese capital, with 25 ex-Israeli Defence Force personnel, most of them former members of army special

units. Another 40 mercenaries, who are being paid salaries of \$2,500 (£1,660) a month, are due to leave for Congo next Thursday.

Benny Temkin, a Knesset member for the left-wing Meretz Party, said that he and other parliamentarians were seeking to stop direct Israeli military involvement in Congo. The matter would be raised at the foreign affairs and defence committee, probably next week.

"I became involved in this issue after parents complained that their sons were going straight from the army into a conflict in Africa," Mr Temkin said. "Israel is today an accepted member of the international community. We do not need to involve ourselves in other conflicts. It is bad for the young men involved and bad for Israel."

Carmela Michali, the mother of one of the young recruited servicemen, said that she had made her concerns public to stop him becoming embroiled in a conflict he knew nothing about.

Naomi Chazan, another Meretz MP who is campaign-



ing to halt Israeli military involvement abroad, said that Congolese opposition groups had also reportedly been seeking assistance from Israeli mercenaries. "We could have an absurd situation where Israelis will be fighting each other on both sides of the civil war," she said.

Levitan, the Israeli company which won a multi-million-pound contract to supply military experts to Congo, refused to comment yesterday. The Minister of Defence in Tel Aviv confirmed that it had approved the company's contract with the government of Congo, but insisted that the Israeli government was not involved in the deal. Israeli

army veterans have been engaged for several years in mercenary activities in the Third World, particularly in Africa where former Israeli combat troops have operated in Liberia, Zaire and Angola.

The activities of the so-called security companies came under intense criticism in the 1980s when Israeli mercenaries, along with several Britons, were accused of training Colombian death squads for the drug lords and of assisting General Manuel Noriega, the former Panamanian leader.

Yassir Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, and Shimon Peres, the Israeli Foreign Minister, arrived here on Monday in a new attempt to break the deadlock holding up implementation of the agreement that the PLO and the Israelis signed in Washington in September. (Reuters)

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Alistair Horne on the leader today's Tories would rather forget

What went wrong for Supermac?

Tomorrow, Harold Macmillan, Earl of Stockton, would have been 100 years old. Considering the mark "Supermac" left on his times, this looks like being a curiously muted centenary. While the bookshops are currently filled with new centennial editions of that great prophet Aldous Huxley, even the eponymous family publishing firm has forgotten "Uncle Harold's" anniversary.

Political reputations have a curious way of advancing and receding with almost indecent speed. Who can now recall how the British popular press trumpeted Nigel Lawson, following his famous tax-slash Budget, as the "greatest Chancellor since..."; since who? What schoolchild in a decade's time will recall who, and where, was the "Iron Lady"?

In the 1980s, the years of his extreme old age, Macmillan emerged into a kind of new Golden Age. The Enoch Powells and the Tabbies may have growled, but his maiden speech in the Lords, with its highly emotive appeal about the miners and the dangers of a divided society, received widest acclaim. So did his less well-judged, rather mischievous subsequent sally about "selling off the family silver". In December 1986 he died venerated as the Grand Old Man.

Yet, had he died in 1994, one feels he might almost have shuffled off the scene the Forgotten Prime Minister, if not actively misprized (especially by the "young fogies" of Tory journalism) as the progenitor of all our current woes. Why this sudden reversal in his fortunes? Could it be that at the peak of monetarism, people yearned for those halcyon days of "You've never had it so good"? And that we reached towards Supermac as a kind of antidote to Maggie? That, in contrast, today, the less confrontational world of John Major perhaps resembles a little too closely Macmillan's own?

Certainly, there are some rather tendentious parallels. If Macmillan had come back to earth last year, he might well have thought that — with all the talk about soaring unemployment, high interest rates, inflation, and a sluggish economy — Selwyn Lloyd was still at the Treasury, and long overdue for a "night of long knives". (Except, of course, that Selwyn

would have gone without such a frightful, undignified howl as Norman.)

As for scandal, 1994 already promises to make his *annus horribilis* of 1963 — now just re-emerging from the twilight of the 30-year rule — look like kindergarten stuff. But then, steady on, where under John Major are the pluses and the grouse moor image, the Old Etonians, dukes and kinsmen in the Government, the "old boy net" that gave *Private Eye* so much fun?

On the eve of his 100th anniversary, how should one evaluate Macmillan? And what might he make of John Major? I asked some of the survivors of his administration, both as Chancellor (1955-56) and Prime Minister, still evokes the liveliest criticism. Lord Thorneycroft, his first Chancellor, who resigned over £50 million of public expenditure at the time of the "little local difficulties" in 1958, remains unforgiving. Though physically frail at 34 but with a memory as sharp as a razor, he reckons it was "Macmillan's spending, his attitude towards inflation, that definitely led to the troubles we have today. He loved spending — he almost invented it!"

(One of Macmillan's Labour opponents agrees: "You don't get through four Chancellors in less than seven years without something being wrong.")

Recalling Macmillan's dictum that, if the electorate seeks moral guidance, it should turn not to the politicians but to the bishops, I wondered equally how fair it was for history to hold Chancellors and premiers responsible for the shortcomings of sluggish industrialists and resentful trade unionists, with Churchill's desire

to appease the unions? Peter Thorneycroft was adamant: the blame had to rest with Macmillan.

Apart from that, "I think Harold had nothing to be ashamed of. He was marvellous to work for; and bore no grudges — a short while after the 'little local difficulties' he brought me back, first in aviation, then defence... I was amazed!"

"Events, events," Macmillan lamented in 1963. As with John Major, in the end events always seemed to conspire against him. Africa never left him alone — rather like sex with John F. Kennedy. Bill (Lord) Deedes, the journalist who was Minister Without Portfolio in Macmillan's last Government, agrees. "I often wonder about the wind of change — did it all happen too fast? In my work with Care I now find I'm picking up the pieces in Africa."

The bitterest blow to Macmillan in his seven years of office was undoubtedly not Profumo, but De Gaulle's "Non", his slap-in-the-face in January 1963 to Britain's application to join the EEC. Says Deedes, "once that happened, there was no momentum any more, he was like a ship dead in the water". Had he just been able to pull that off, then — Deedes agrees — Macmillan might have gone down as one of Britain's great PMs.

So fine is the boundary between triumph and failure in politics.

Sir Freddie Bishop, who was Macmillan's Principal Private Secretary from 1957 to 1961, sees things in a perhaps rather more positive light. "After all, his two big strategic goals — getting into Europe and détente with the Russians, which he had worked at since the visit to Khrushchev in 1959 — both these eventually moved his way and were attained. Though not by him."

Macmillan himself always regarded the signing of the nuclear test ban treaty in the summer of 1963, his last year, and all that it led to in the history of détente, as his outstanding achievement. This is a view largely supported by his surviving colleagues, and by the documents now released by the PRO.

From Nkrumah to Kenyatta, from the Patriarch of Antioche to the Pope, the tributes flowed in. As with De Gaulle's adverse vote in January, it was nip-and-tuck: would the Americans rally? Macmillan (in July 1963) wrote a moving plea to his friend, ex-President Eisenhower, to defuse Republican opposition in Congress: "I feel more deeply about this than about any great issue in my lifetime..." Some enlightened FO official sent the crucial letter by "sea-bag" so like never saw it until weeks later, provoking a furious rocket from Macmillan's unpaid ADC, John Wyndham.

Perhaps, in its historic setting, the nuclear test ban treaty, which was so much Macmillan's baby, fought through with Kennedy against fierce Pentagon resistance, should alone ensure him a measure of greatness. It could not have been achieved without his remarkable, personal success in re-centring the "special relationship" after Suez, first with Eisenhower, then (yet more effectively) with Kennedy; even if, during the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, he admitted to "playing the cards above their face value".

Then, one must record that it was of course Supermac who invented life peerages: thereby, reckless life peer Deedes, "putting Lords reform on the back-burner — an historic contribution".

On two scores, most survivors of Supermac's team are agreed. With the one aberration of the night of long knives (when he sacked a third of his Cabinet, in July 1962), he was superb in his appointments, and particularly in the team which ran his inner office. Consisting only of Bishop, Wyndham, Philip de Zulueta (from the FO), Harold Evans his press secretary, and (later) Philip Woodfield, it was — in the words of Woodfield (now Sir Philip), an outstandingly "lean ship". Big government, with all the extra stresses

Macmillan's spending... definitely led to the troubles we have today. He loved spending, he almost invented it!

This imposes on a leader who should be thinking in tranquility, did not set in until Wilson with Marcia Williams's "Kitchen Cabinet" and Heath with his "think tank". Then, once again, Lloyd George's inflated "garden suburb" of 1916 came back to Westminster.

All who ever served in it still stress what a "happy team" Macmillan's small PM's office was. Like Monty with his wartime liaison officers, he used it as his eyes and

ears. The proof of the pudding is that, by and large, he was extremely well advised. Here the contrast is particularly marked with the last days of Thatcher, and even more so with the hapless Major — repeatedly falling on his face as a result of what must be inert advice.

Secondly, Macmillan's reputation as a thinker survives intact. Part of the duties of his team was to protect the space he created for himself in which to think, and read. None of his successors can challenge his claim to have been Britain's best-read PM. To Freddie Bishop, "his view of both national and international politics was always strategic, based on his own deep reading of history". It is a recollection with which this biographer could certainly concur. The (unpublished) Macmillan diaries reveal, underneath the often flippant exterior, a most penetrating mind which asked all the key questions of our times.

The tragedy was — in common with some of his successors — the answers all too often just eluded him.

So what would Supermac have thought of John Major and the Tory Party today? Philip Woodfield suggests that a typical comment, ironic but not unfriendly, might have been: "He doesn't seem to be doing very well, does he?" He would have thought Major lacked political sense — as well as good advice. Yet, in personal terms, I feel that Macmillan — despite all his acquired patrician trimmings — would have been sympathetic to the self-made man in Major; remember his court favourite, former Sergeant-Major Ernest Marples?

But, of course, Marples succeeded. Often unlucky himself, Macmillan would have viewed the banana-skins of John Major with perhaps the same impatience that Napoleon reserved for the unlucky generals.

He would (thinks Freddie Bishop) have been much less sympathetic with the "erosion of principles" in Tory politics since Thatcher, with the "increase of vulgarity" (to wit Question Time) in Parliament, and with the mounting social antagonisms in the country. In my opinion, he would have deplored perhaps still more (even as a publisher) the instant memoirs of self-justification by sacked ministers, symbolising as they do the loss of that precious loyalty which, upwards and downwards, was once one of the strengths of Supermac's Tory Party. In the far-off 1960s, a Lamont would have been banished to outer darkness, like one of those H.M. Bateman cartoons — "The Man Who Jeered The PM".

Not least, Supermac had that elusive, undefinable quality of style: that nobody can take away from him, and with him it vanished from Westminster forever.

Maybe Macmillan's Tory Government of 1963 does share one thing with John Major's: did it "overstay its leave" to become — in the words of that octogenarian party loyalist, Bill Deedes — like "a horse carrying more lead than it can manage"?

● Alistair Horne is the author of the official life of Harold Macmillan, vols I 1957-1966, published by Papermac, 1991, £14.99.



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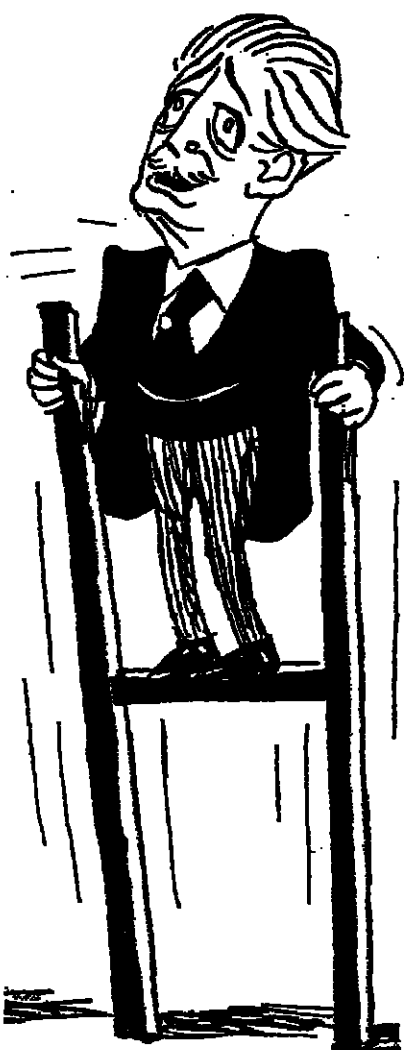
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THE TIMES

AT 30P IT'S A SMALL PRICE TO PAY FOR A GREAT NEWSPAPER



From a 1957 cartoon captioned "Now we can talk as equals" after Britain's H-bomb test



Vicky's view of the Harold Macmillan-Selwyn Lloyd partnership on the former's arrival at No 10 in 1957

How a generation of children has been broken

At what point, I wonder, did people stop talking about "staying together for the sake of the children" and start believing they would do their children less harm by splitting up? What made them change their minds? Nobody seems too sure of the answer to this, but Relate counsellors, lawyers and others who deal regularly with divorcing couples agree that their clients all now subscribe to the "better a good divorce than a bad marriage" school of thought, not just because it suits them but because they have read, or been told, or have in some other way absorbed the idea that it will be better for their children, too. Was this just the inevitable, if intellectually dishonest, consequence of the personal fulfilment movement, or can we trace this false pearl back to some expert report or other?

I only ask because, if the latter is true, the Exeter Family Study has

profound social implications and could do more for family values than a whole haul of politicians. This study, conducted by Dr John Tripp and Monica Cockett of the department of child health at Exeter University's postgraduate medical school, demonstrates quite clearly that the children of divorced parents are more likely to be unhappy, unhealthy and handicapped at school than the children of parents who quarrel but remain married. Perhaps it was a finding from the 1958 (but still ongoing) National Child Development Study that disarmed the proponents of staying together for the sake of the children: this appeared to identify pre-divorce feuding as the main cause of damage to children, but on Monday night's *Panorama*, which arose from the Exeter study, we were told that this conclusion is under review in the light of further interviews with the 1958 cohort.

The trendy view that children are better away from marital rows when their parents divorce has been proved false

Dr Tripp was surprised and shaken by the extent of the children's unhappiness. He and Ms Cockett only interviewed 152 children — 76 from "intact" families, both harmonious and quarrelsome, and 76 with divorced parents — but the research was unusual in that it focused on them rather than their parents, gave them time and space to unburden, and then followed up what emerged with parents, schools and family doctors. The children from "re-ordered" families were more than twice as likely as the others to think badly of themselves, to have problems with school work and making friends, to wet their beds and have repeated bouts of illness, often psychosomatic, to describe themselves simply as being miser-



MARGOT NORMAN

able most of the time. As for the 19 whose families had been re-ordered more than once, they were ten times more likely to have a low opinion of themselves. The researchers were firm: it was not poverty, or conflict, or anything except the fact of losing a parent that did the damage.

As Lady Bracknell didn't say, to lose one parent is a catastrophe, but to lose a parent and then a step-parent (not to mention grandparents, adored aunts and so on) is a disaster. It reverberates for years, as we saw in the case of *Panorama*'s "copy-book" divorcing family, the Pearces. The parents were decent, kindly and in civilised communication but still, six years on, their nine-year-old son was in a state of such constant tearfulness it was almost unbearable to watch him. And what's more, the interview only had to mention to the mother her own parents' divorce for her to dissolve in tears, too.

A running sore, then, and one which our arrangements for the dissolution of marriage do their

best to ignore. "There's a collective wish not to look at the pain of children," said Dr Sebastian Kraemer of the Tavistock Clinic, "because there would have to be a social revolution if we took it seriously." Well, there would, wouldn't there? Either people would have to stay together for the sake of their children, or divorcing couples and step-parents would have to accept a code of conduct designed to minimise that pain, since even a "good" divorce is evidently not good enough.

I have said it before but I'll say it again. Is it not bizarre that divorce has become such a common rite of passage without having acquired the necessary ceremonial and traditions to mitigate its socially undesirable effects? How come everyone thinks they know what a marriage should be, but there is so little common ground on the "how to" of divorce?

How come 91 per cent of the children in this sample heard from their mothers that their fathers were leaving? How come the fathers didn't feel a duty to tell them? And what gave more than half of the re-ordered families the idea that it was acceptable for the children not to have regular contact with the absent parent?

Most exasperating of all, perhaps, how come nearly three quarters of the non-custodial parents had put themselves and their children through all that misery only to wish they hadn't divorced after all, that it all seemed "such a waste"? Cue for the Church of England, which has welcomed Lord Mackay's proposals for no-fault divorce after 12 months on the ground that "the agony and uncertainty should not be prolonged, particularly where children are involved" to wake up and realise that the agony is prolonged, decrees absolute notwithstanding.

My two terms with Stephen

Libby Purves recalls the diffident but determined young Conservative who was her companion at Oxford

The first thing you want to be told for sure was that it was not suicide. The unexpected death of a friend or acquaintance brings on a great need to rule out that worst of endings: to expunge the sudden guilt of wondering whether you should have known, guessed, helped. After that, as the light-tipped police reveal the minimum and the speculative media go ever further in their guesses, the need for information becomes an obsession, however awful that information may be when it comes.

In the ranks of journalists, a great many of whom knew Stephen Milligan well because of his earlier press and BBC career, there was considerable shock on Monday night. People well-used to covering such stories found themselves inhibited and embarrassed, unwilling to ask the routine questions. Politicians and journalists groped for tributes to pay to someone who was so young, and so much one of them, and so apparently unlikely to have needed such tributes for at least 30 years. We were all at sea.

I had not seen Stephen for some years, except in BBC corridors and lifts where we would fall into a brief, ancient routine of mutual joshing about our divergent careers. But in 1970, when he was in final year at Oxford, we went out together for two terms, and I knew him very well indeed. He was president of the Oxford Union and a star of OUCA, the Conservative Association; I was a dilettante Union speaker in the more frivolous debates, and a sort of uncommitted leftist Liberal.

Stephen looked then almost exactly as he did at 45. He was already both a career Conservative and a lower-case conservative: intellectual, articulate, easy to tease and leg-pull about his politics but ambitious enough to overcome by sheer willpower his natural diffident shyness. His own campaign for the Union presidency — a hotly and sometimes nastily disputed office — was pleasant and low-key, relying more on his speaking ability and lack of enemies than on the usual backstairs politicking. It may sound, but is not, faint praise to say that unlike almost any other Oxford Union presidential candidate I remember, his campaign did not make his less political friends even temporarily ashamed to know him.

Other more confident, off-the-cuff, unpunctual Union stars laughed at his deadly seriousness about oratory, and the fact that he admired practising his speeches in front of a mirror; but he only gave his defensive grin, and

laughed it off. The speeches worked, and that was what counted. Meanwhile his eye was on the wider political scene. Two of us, arriving in his room after the 1970 election to drag him out for a drink, ragged him unmercifully when we caught him in the act of writing a personal letter of congratulation to the victorious Ted Heath. Again, he laughed at our unmannerly parlour-pink intervention. He was, after all, used to it.

One evening during that election campaign he and I had been on the way home from a party when I refused, drunkenly, to get into his car unless he first removed the "Vote Conservative" stickers. Ever the gentleman, he did so, poured me aboard, drove me home and gave me a leg-up over the wall back into my women's college. When we found him writing the Heath letter he willingly laughed at himself, took our insults mildly, and agreed to come out in the sunshine. But not until he had stamped, and posted the derided letter. He knew where he was going, did Stephen. It was no surprise when he got there.

But he liked fun, all-night college balls, and country walks as well; he was a good friend, with rarely a hard word to say about anyone. And remember that it was quite brave, in those days, to come out as an openly Conservative student. We lived the George Orwell line "Every intelligent boy of 16 is a socialist". To our contemporaries, the Conservative party still meant the worn-out hypocrisies and foggy mannerisms of the Macmillan and Douglas-Home era, the Peter Sellers' silly-ass political speech ("In conclusion, let me say, just this") and joyful imitations of Supermac talking through his moustache.

We had had a term of Labour government, and even that was far too right-wing for many. Red Danny was leading student riots in Paris and Tariq Ali demonstrations in Oxford. Bill Clinton and friends went to Grosvenor Square to protest against the Vietnam War; Enoch Powell had to be smuggled into Oxford under massive police guard. Stephen himself, in the chair of the Union, had to handle his share of barracking. Anybody on the Right was seen by many, as having sided with a worn-out discredited generation.

Even those of us who were not revolutionaries, but paler shades of humanitarian pink, were more socially acceptable than the short-haired, earnest young lads of OUCA. There was far more brio and style (and far more venom, too) on the Left. My abiding image of election night 1970 was



Oxford days — Stephen Milligan at the Union, where his politics were deeply unfashionable

another political student star, a northern Labour stalwart, sinking his teeth into the banisters at the Union (the marks are still there) and yelling to his girlfriend "Come on, they'll have made it illegal by morning".

It is hard to drag oneself back, now, into that late 1960s mind-set, but worth doing in order to appreciate better the generation of 1960s and 1970s university young Conservatives who are now finding power. After 15 years of triumphalist rule by the Right, the Conservative party today attracts quite other kinds of young careerist people who see party adherence as a fast-track to the top, if not a commercial advantage as

well. There are young would-be candidates, political acolytes, secretaries, and journalists who find the character of Francis Urquhart quite as alluring as it is alarming: a generation to whom Conservatism is synonymous with power and glitz, not patient opposition.

Stephen's contemporaries, growing up through the "pendulum years" before 1979, had a tougher time and maybe a better schooling. And they had to mix, good-humouredly and without rancour, with people of widely different persuasions. They had to test their Conservative principles not only against the other wing of their own party, but against the noisy, determined argu-

ments of a left-wing which still seemed — remember? — perfectly likely to take back power at any minute.

It seems odd, even heartless, this morning to slip from remembering an old friend, dancing-partner and sparring-partner, into talking about the development of political types in the past two decades. But it is not inappropriate.

Politics were Stephen Milligan's life ever since he was 20 years old. Those arm-waving speeches at the Union, that disputatious, articulate argument on the screen, those well-informed, modest interventions of his which always began "Ah, but —" are what he would want to be remembered by. Rest his soul.

The dotty dowagers

FOR society ladies-who-lunch, a new challenge: ensuring a place not on the best-dressed list, but on the merry widows' list. For the first time, a Top 20 of the world's richest and happiest widows has been published by *W* magazine.

W is a sort of parish newsletter to the ridiculously rich, and the exclusions and inclusions on this month's list have caused turbulence in salons from Paris to New York. Widows rate highest depending on extravagance, eccentricity, gossip column inches and ability to throw a splendid party.

Many old favourites are noted, including Jackie Onassis, the undisputed queen of the genre, Pamela Harriman, the only full-time working widow, as American ambassador to France, and Brooke Astor, at 91 the oldest and bluest-blooded.

The first and the youngest of the 20 who "traded in their widow's weeds and slipped into something a little more comfortable" is the blonde and beautiful Courtney Sale Ross, who has now inherited unspeakable amounts of cash from her late husband, Time Warner mogul Steve Ross. Her instincts for extravagance were finely honed during their marriage, where they shared a dedication to the acquisition of material objects, according to Mr Ross's biographer.

Widows' habits cross class and economic barriers. Just as little old ladies in Britain are well-known for keeping two-dozen cats, the third Mrs Ross allegedly keeps two personal chefs — one for herself and one for her pets.

Mrs Ross is kind to children as well as animals, and set up a school specially for her daughter Nicole and her little friends. Textbooks were only of limited use: instead the children flew to study Egyptian history by the pyramids, and Chinese in Peking.

A widow who shares matching accessories with her dog joins a bizarre Top 20



Mrs Whitney and dalmatian

The 46-year-old Mrs Ross, who surely will not remain single for long, has been known to do some work in her time, once making a documentary for her husband's company about the musician Quincy Jones, and doing some light art curating. Like many of these ladies, however, her main speciality is collecting homes. The Rosses bought a castle in Italy which came with its own peasant village, and Mrs Ross noted that she found it particularly charming, as her architect said, "because it's so poor".

Another itchy-checkbook widow is Basia Johnson, a former chambermaid who married the late J. Seward Johnson. As soon as the estate battle was settled, she picked up a Raphael for \$4.8million (£3.2m), two Leonardos for \$11m, and \$15m for a cabinet, making it the most expensive

item of furniture ever. A front-runner among European widows is the Paris-based Sao Schlumberger, who rates special mention for the recent redecoration of her apartment by the Eiffel Tower.

She had the upholstery, curtains and carpets specially woven to her personal taste, according to *W*, and got the Marie Antoinette seal of bad taste extravagance when she insisted on a colour scheme of mauve, orange and apple green.

Of course, many of the widows are benefactresses, their diaries jammed with charity balls. Teresa Heinz, as in beanz meanz, was left \$700m when her husband, Senator Henry John Heinz III died, and has just given \$10m to Yale University's art gallery, and set up a Heinz charitable foundation.

The delightful aspect of many of these women, is it only after their husbands die that their full eccentricities get an airing. Without question, Mary Lou Whitney stands out as the dottiest dowager. Famed for dressing in clothes to match her pet poodle, Edelweiss, or her dalmatian, she was married to Cornelius Vanderbilt Whitney and his \$100m. She maintains homes in Manhattan, Florida, a 100,000-acre mountain "camp", and her summer house in Sarasota Springs. This is most convenient for the Sarasota races, an event of which she is extraordinarily fond. Rather like the Queen at Ascot, Mrs Whitney tends to open the races with a ride in her horsedrawn carriage, and then gives a ball or two. As the *New York Times* noted of her profile in Sarasota: "In her straw hat and flowered silk dresses, she is as instantly recognisable figure here as Minnie Mouse is in the Magic Kingdom."

KATE MUIR

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IT IS NOT A MORAL ISSUE

Comparisons with the Profumo affair are perilous

Before the death of Stephen Milligan, the Prime Minister had to face three great hurdles to remaining in power. There were the tax rises in April, the local elections in May and the European elections in June, each difficult in itself, each capable of tumbling upon the other and hastening the demise of the whole.

To those three is now added a fourth — a by-election in the Eastleigh constituency made necessary by the strange death of its MP, Stephen Milligan. It would be wrong, therefore, to deny that Mr Milligan's lost life is of political significance. It is an event of potential weight which may yet be found among those last straws that break this Government's back. It is an event of grotesque characteristics which may well be remembered when the list of which love child belongs to which Tory is long forgotten.

There is a danger for commentators here, however. While it is tempting to write about this tragedy as though the distortions of the future have already happened, the temptation should, at least for a few short clarifying moments, be resisted. The loss of an intelligent, loyal MP and a potentially talented minister should be kept in a separate category from the catalogue of personal deceits compiled over the past few weeks.

When John Profumo became embroiled in a sexual scandal during the twilight years of the Macmillan Government, *The Times* famously declared that "it is a moral issue". The comment was made in reaction to a

political climate in which every governmental peccadillo and failure was written off as nothing by the voices of the Establishment of the time. Almost the opposite is the case today. Every piece of ill-luck or error is judged part of the sleaze and hypocrisy surrounding this long-lived Conservative administration. This time it would be better to say: It is not a moral issue.

On present evidence it is uncertain whether Mr Milligan was on his own or was engaged in sex with someone else when he died. But as an unmarried man, it seems likely that Mr Milligan was deceiving no one else. There is no suggestion that he was breaking the law. Few of the moral issues that spring from adultery, let alone from having a child with a mistress, come into play here. The MP's seemingly lonely sexual habits may have been unusual. Their revelation is hardly a good example — but then he can hardly have expected that they would be so revealed.

It is an additional sadness for Mr Milligan's friends if he will from now on be treated as merely one of the political misfortunes that plagued the Major administration. Like Jeremy Thorpe, Cecil Parkinson and George Brown before him, he deserves to be remembered by more than his descent from the norms of acceptable behaviour. It will be ill-served if his demise becomes a mere footnote in the chronicles of a weary and unfortunate Government and if the manner of his dying comes to outshadow, in folk memory and political history, the merits of his life.

THE BUCK STOPS WHERE?

Scott must clarify the doctrine of ministerial accountability

The appearance of the head of the civil service, Sir Robin Butler, before the Scott enquiry today will be one of its defining moments. Although the testimonies of Baroness Thatcher, Lord Howe and John Major have attracted more attention, Sir Robin is better placed than any of the politicians involved in the arms-for-Iraq affair to shed light on the constitutional and procedural questions which it has posed. Not surprisingly, Lord Justice Scott has set aside three days for this cross-examination.

At the heart of the enquiry into the change of guidelines governing defence sales to Iraq in 1988 and its consequences is the issue of Crown responsibility. In his final report this summer, Lord Justice Scott must judge whether ministers misled Parliament on policy. Secondly he must decide whether they connived, through signing public interest immunity certificates, in withholding from the defence documents which they knew might prevent miscarriages of justice. But he must also assess the extent to which they were inadequately briefed by their officials and who was ultimately responsible for the evident failures of communication between and within departments over arms export policy and military intelligence.

Under the Cabinet Office's present guidelines, ministers are fully responsible to Parliament for the performance of their departments. This principle is meant to protect officials from political attack and preserve the confidentiality of the advice they offer to ministers. Its *locus classicus* is the resignation of Sir Thomas Dugdale, Churchill's minister of Agriculture, in 1954, after his officials had been criticised over the resale of requisitioned land on Criche Down. Dugdale's decision to assume responsibility — though he was not in any sense to blame — is still treated as the main precedent for such cases.

In practice, however, there is no clear doctrine of ministerial responsibility. When 38 prisoners escaped from the Maze Prison in 1983, the Government argued that ministers should only resign if the break-out had occurred because of a policy change for which they were responsible. In 1991, the then Home Secretary, Kenneth Baker, added a fresh gloss by refusing to resign when two IRA suspects escaped from jail, on the ground that this failure reflected "operational" rather than ministerial incompetence. Where doctrine has failed, political pragmatism has filled the vacuum.

Civil servants, meanwhile, have grown uneasy over insidious changes in their own constitutional position. In particular, the appearance of named officials before select committees to answer questions about specific policies has raised the problem of civil servants' respective duties to Parliament and to the ministers they serve. Though the new culture of devolution in Whitehall has given many civil servants the status of chief executives, no attempt has been made to update the conventions governing Crown responsibility. Regrettably, the strong case made by Sir Robin Ibb in his 1987 *Next Steps* report for clarification of such points was ignored.

The confusion has been painfully clear during Lord Justice Scott's enquiries — in particular over the extent to which ministers have a duty to ensure that they are adequately briefed. Several have complained that the sheer volume of paperwork with which they now have to deal makes a mockery of the claim that they can be fully aware of all that goes on in their departments. Whether or not Lord Justice Scott is persuaded by this claim, he must address the constitutional problem of which this is a symptom. The redundant pieces of the Criche Down case are no longer enough.

GREAT GAME OF DEATH

Forgotten Afghanistan lies in ruins

Since the New Year, nearly 1,000 people have died in the latest, lethal twist in Afghanistan's bloody civil war, where the forces of the President are pitted against those of the Prime Minister. This conflict epitomises the failure of the Afghan peace settlement, hailed as a triumph of Soviet-American co-operation after the Cold War.

General Rashid Dostum, the formidable Uzbek warlord, has withdrawn his support from President Rabbani and defected to the side of the Prime Minister, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, until recently his bitterest foe. This new alliance of warlords, which will not surprise Afghans inured to many centuries of treacherous opportunism, has led to fighting in Kabul that makes even Sarajevo seem tranquil.

But Afghanistan, once in the Cold War's impassioned centre-stage, has now been left to its own devices. The country does not take kindly to interference and peace-making is, in principle, best left to the Afghan factions. But this view, while attractive to America and Russia, whose weaponry is responsible in large measure for the country's anarchy, will appeal neither to its neighbours nor to the hapless Afghan people.

Ethnicity, in the time-honoured Afghan manner, is at the root of the conflict. Always a fragile entity, Afghanistan is today in danger of breaking apart, and the implications of this for Central Asia, and Pakistan, are worrying. Mr Rabbani, and his military strongman Ahmed Shah Massoud, are Tajiks committed to an Islamic republic. General Dostum, who has put his secular, Communist past conveniently to one side, is Uzbek. Prime Minister-at-war Hekmatyar, the most extreme Islamist of all the *dramatis*

personae, is Pashtun. Pashtuns have controlled the country for most of its history, and Tajiks at the helm rankle.

Although General Dostum cited as his reason for defection to Mr Hekmatyar the pro-Tajik bias of his erstwhile friends, his new alliance is only tactical. And he has other considerations: nothing would more alarm his kinsman President Karimov, across the border in Uzbekistan and fearful of the spread of fundamentalism in Central Asia, than a victory for Mr Hekmatyar, who is favoured by both Saudi Arabia and Iran. Mr Karimov loses sleep over the Tajiks in Kabul, too, given his worries about Islamic resurgence in neighbouring Tajikistan. Pakistan no longer favours Mr Hekmatyar, although for ethnic rather than religious reasons. A Pashtun in control would, inevitably, revive historical claims to territory beyond the Khyber Pass.

This latest, cynical alliance is designed to clear the field for a showdown between General Dostum and Mr Hekmatyar. But there are signs that no faction is capable of an outright military victory. Stalemate will have dreadful human costs for ordinary, desperately poor Afghans, struggling to rebuild their lives in a land sown with around 10 million mines. The United Nations, however, cannot succeed as broker: there is resistance in Afghanistan to renewed American and Russian involvement, however tangential. A workable settlement will only emerge through regional diplomacy. The governments of Pakistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Iran will have to try and put Afghanistan back together again. They must try although they may not succeed: no outside player in the Great Game ever has.

Croatia sanctions not the answer

From Mr Robin Harris

Sir, Your argument for sanctions against Croatia as a means of helping to bring peace to the former Yugoslavia (leader, February 4) is flawed for three reasons.

First, those who would be most directly affected by such a move are precisely those for whom the world rightly feels greatest concern — namely the refugees (over half a million, including some 260,000 Muslims) in Croatia and those now receiving humanitarian aid within Bosnia.

As I learnt when visiting refugee camps in Croatia recently, the burden of housing and feeding so many people is already threatening to bring down Croatia's weakened economy. Only about 35 per cent of the cost of caring for refugees is met from international sources.

As regards those receiving humanitarian assistance, it would be impossible to get substantial aid through without this coming via Croatia, something which sanctions against that country would render well-nigh impossible.

Second, without wishing either to justify the numerous mistakes made by the Croatian government or to minimise the acute suffering of the Muslims, it is important to realise that since last spring well over 100,000 Croats have been expelled from their homes by the Muslim armies who are seeking compensation for what Muslims have lost to the Serbs.

This action flowed directly from the West's refusal to authorise the air-strikes for which President Izetbegovic had been calling. To the extent that Croatia is directly militarily involved in Bosnia, this has to be seen as primarily a response to the well-documented policy of Muslim ethnic cleansing, still going on amid fierce fighting in the Lasva valley.

Third, there is no reason to believe, as you suggest, that imposition of sanctions against Croatia would render Russia more likely to induce the Serbs to give up territory they have seized. Russian policy is now developing, under the influence of Mr Zhirnovsky, in quite another direction. And so far the Serbs have not yielded voluntarily a square yard of conquered land. The only way to make them do so would be by the use of force.

That still remains the fundamental question which the West needs to consider when it reassesses its policy towards the former Yugoslavia.

Yours faithfully,
ROBIN HARRIS,
100 Cambridge Street, SW1,
February 4.

From Mr Richard C. Green

Sir, Sir Edward Heath ("Air strikes would mean war", February 8) dismisses out of hand the option of allowing the Bosnians to arm themselves. If, after three years of appalling slaughter, we are still not prepared to defend the defenceless, why do we not let them defend themselves?

Yours faithfully,
RICHARD GREEN,
The Whittens, Lyntonshall,
Kingham, Herefordshire,
February 8.

Monitoring the guns

From Lord Campbell of Croy

Sir, The United Nations forces in Bosnia have the task of protecting relief supplies. They could do more while remaining impartial.

Apparently it cannot be proved conclusively who fired the mortar bomb which killed nearly 70 people in Sarajevo last week (report, February 7). Surely this situation could be greatly improved with modern technology.

Even 50 years ago, in the Second World War, the counter-battery units of the British Army could very quickly locate, behind the enemy's lines, the positions of active weapons. Linked listening and observation posts (for sound and flash) provided the data which instant trigonometry translated into map references. Much more sophisticated systems must now exist.

The UN forces could perform a valuable neutral service if they were permitted to monitor, with such specialised units, the firing of guns and mortars, so locating immediately the weapons' positions.

That should help to settle who fired them and it should also act as a deterrent.

Yours faithfully,
CAMPBELL OF CROY,
House of Lords,
February 7.

Dissolving Parliament

From Mr Roy D. Roebuck

Sir, In "The cracks begin to show in Britain's DIY constitution" (February 2), your assistant editor (politics), Mr Peter Riddell, and Professor Peter Hennessy ("An alumnus of *The Times*") referred to the only guides to the question of whether a prime minister has an absolute right to a dissolution of Parliament and an election, namely, a 1949 working paper and a letter to *The Times* in May 1950 from the King's private secretary.

The best guide to the question is to be found in *The Times* of December 19, 1923, in the report of a speech by Mr Asquith to Liberal MPs the previous day. Mr Asquith was the only Prime Minister to have advised the

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

1 Pennington Street, London E1 9XN Telephone 071-782 5000

Rover sale: a blow to prosperity and links with Japan

From Mr J. C. Baron

Sir, The acquisition of Rover by BMW (letters, February 2, 3) proves yet again that this country, to its cost, stands alone among its major industrial competitors in not having an industrial strategy.

On the Continent there has always been a close working relationship between governments and key industries. In Germany, for example, the government persuaded Daimler-Benz to take over most of the country's aerospace industry by guaranteeing it against some future losses risked in making Airbus. The French government's support of key industries via the state-owned banks is well-known.

Meanwhile, here, we preach the doctrine of laissez-faire whilst our competitors nibble away at our markets. Nobody wants a return to the bad old days of subsidising inefficient companies or picking national champions. However, there is a middle path. The Government must take a view and should be providing greater support for what industry itself wants to do, so that key sectors can plan for the long term. The motor-car industry should have been one such sector.

The case of Rover is particularly sad and would not have happened anywhere else. BMW recognised the company's potential, cash-strapped British Aerospace could not refuse the offer and the Government looked on. A familiar story, and one we will come to regret.

There is a strong case for Rover remaining British. Britain may be the cheapest place in Europe to build a car at present but that need not last. EMU implies economic convergence among the member states. In the years ahead, when production costs have been levelled and we start entering the next downturn, no prizes for guessing where the German company will make the cars. Meanwhile, German component companies will benefit whilst Anglo-Japanese relations will suffer.

The Government must recognise the importance of our manufacturing base to the prosperity of this country

— manufactured goods represent 70 per cent of world trade. The British seldom read the writing on the wall until their backs are against it.

Yours faithfully,
J. C. BARON,
46 Queenswood Court,
Kings Avenue, SW4,
February 7.

From Professor Geoffrey Bownds

Sir, The sale of Rover to BMW puts at risk the benefits of the 14-year relationship between Honda and Rover. BAE's action has surprised and shocked many Japanese institutions and companies — as I know from the questions I have been asked in the past week by Japanese friends, business leaders and opinion-formers.

It is clear that Honda has not been lying passive in its recent relationships with Rover and that there had been active discussions for some time with BAE on a revised and increased shareholding in Rover which would have strengthened the ties between the two companies and left the majority holding in British hands. These were near conclusion when BAE sprang the news about BMW.

I have been a watcher of the Japanese automobile sector since the mid-1960s — I first assisted the then BLMC on Japanese motor industry matters in 1965 and, from 1979, I was an adviser to BL in the early years of its contacts with Honda. I am therefore disturbed to learn that BAE is ignorant of (or has ignored) the value of the long-term relationships that exist between Japanese automobile assemblers and their component suppliers.

This, sadly, at a time when it was beginning to seem that the need for "shared destinies", based on the trust and sincerity which the Japanese business world values so highly, is at last gaining acceptance in the West.

Yours faithfully,
GEOFFREY BOWNDS
(Director, Centre for the Study of Modern Japan),
Gyosei International College,
London Road, Reading, Berkshire,
February 7.

Organ donation

From Dr Robert J. Maxwell and Dr Roger Williams

Sir, Your leader of January 28, "Donating life" (letters, February 1, 3, 8), gives a very balanced view of the agonising position that faces people in the UK waiting for transplants. The crucial problem is one of organ supply, not money, and the situation is worsening. What can be done?

Last year, after substantial background work, we organised a conference to discuss the options. The results should be published in March. It is clear from the limited success of the major government campaign last year, and of the efforts by Life Line Wales in establishing a computerised recording system of everyone wishing to opt in, that simply trying to increase voluntary donation via donor cards is not enough.

Our own personal view, based on the international evidence, is that the law should be changed from opting in to opting out. In other words, the presumption should be that after death all organs can be used unless the dead person or the relatives definitely wish otherwise. Far more people (e.g. three-quarters of the British population, based on a Gallup survey) are actually willing to give their organs than carry

donor cards (20 per cent). Evidence from Belgium shows that changing the law does increase supply.

But the indications are that the Government is not ready for so radical a change, and that the transplant community (surgeons, nurses, patients' organisations) is deeply divided. So there needs to be sustained effort to inform public opinion about options. In time, we believe the climate will change and legislation will follow. The sooner the better, from the viewpoint of those waiting for transplants.

Meanwhile, other options — for example, elective ventilation in intensive care units of people who will otherwise die before a decision about donation can be made, and (in the case of kidneys) an increase in live donor gifts — are worth exploring. None is without its ethical dilemmas, but these do not in our opinion overrule the case that you made for action.

Yours faithfully,
ROBERT J. MAXWELL
(Chief Executive/Secretary,
King's Fund),
ROGER WILLIAMS
(Director, Institute of Liver Studies,
King's College London),
c/o King Edward's Hospital
Fund for London,
2 Palace Court, W2,
February 3.

Treasure trove law

From Mr Charles Sparrow, QC

Sir, The director of the Council for British Archaeology is right to renew the call for reform of the law of treasure trove (letter, January 28).

In this country, incredibly, the only legal protection we have for archaeological finds is a fragment of Anglo-Saxon common law, which derives from the ancient principle that all treasure in the tribe is at the disposal, ultimately, of the tribal leader. Thus to hide treasure was to injure the tribe. Such an act was penalised by forfeiture. An object that was accidentally lost would attract no such penalty.

So it is that an English jury of twentieth-century citizens is solemnly convened to determine the frame of mind of an unknown and unknowable owner, living perhaps 2,000 years ago. It is magnificent but hardly conservation.

The effect of treasure trove is simply to determine possession of an archae-

ological find of gold or silver. If deemed hidden, it goes to the Crown; if not hidden, it remains with the finder. The ultimate irony is that today the Crown recompenses the finder with the value of a treasure trove object.

In 1982 a Bill intended to make a moderate and sensible revision of the law of treasure trove was presented in the Lords by Lord Abinger: it was passed with all-party support but not government approval.

It was procedurally ambushed in the Commons, and the House was therefore deprived of an opportunity to review this important topic on its merits.

It is much to be hoped that, before long, Parliament is enabled finally to create the sort of protection for archaeological finds that our heritage demands.

Yours faithfully,
CHARLES SPARROW,
13 Old Square,
Lincoln's Inn, WC2,
February 1.

Crown to dissolve Parliament twice in a single year — 1910.

In the speech which you reported Mr Asquith was misquoting, after the defeat of Baldwin's ministry in 1923, whether the impending Labour Government would be entitled to claim a dissolution in any circumstances it might select.

Mr Asquith, speaking with the authority of a constitutional lawyer as well as that of his practical experience in 1910, was of the opinion that there was no such entitlement. He said: "The dissolution of Parliament is in this country one of the prerogatives of the Crown. It is not a mere feudal survival, but it is part, and I think a useful part, of our

constitutional system... It does not mean that the Crown should act arbitrarily and without the advice of responsible Ministers, but it does mean that the Crown is not bound to take the advice of a particular Minister to put its subjects to the tumult and turmoil of a series of General Elections so long as it can find other Ministers who are prepared to give it a trial.

It follows that a prime minister who does not command the confidence of the Commons because he has lost the support of some members of his own party is not entitled to a dissolution, particularly when it is apparent that there is no shortage of members of his own party who are prepared to take his job.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,
ROY ROEBUCK,
Bell Yard Chambers,
116-118 Chancery Lane, WC2.

From Mr David T. Price

Sir, My tiny manufacturing company, at the opposite extreme to Rover (we make a boat-mounted conveyor system for the removal of aquatic weed), won two successive competitive grants from the DTI in 1992 and 1993 under the "Smart" (small firms merit award for research and technology) scheme. We are rightly joined by the DTI to conduct our affairs "to the best economic advantage of the UK".

In principle, the vast sums of taxpayers' money poured into BL, which form the basis of the prosperity that Rover is now beginning to enjoy, are no different from the £104,000 that my company expects to have received by the end of 1994. For us ultimately to sell out our interest to an overseas investor would be a simple betrayal of confidence the DTI has shown by providing taxpayers' money to support our project. We would not consider doing so.

Contrary to the short-term views expressed by many people in the City and in politics, "ownership" does matter, and matters absolutely.

Yours faithfully,
DAVID T. PRICE
(Managing Director),
Natural Technology Ltd,
60a High Street,
Wargrave, Berkshire,
February 2.

From Mr John Parfitt

Sir, It is now quite common for fairly small companies to raise sums of over £100 million in public offers.

Why, then, is a company of Rover's international reputation raise £800 million? If the family silver is to be sold, surely members of the family should have first refusal. I for one would be happy to invest — provided that management control remains here. But nobody asks. Why not?

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
JOHN PARFITT,
St Andrews, New Street,
Painswick, Gloucestershire,
February 1.

Herbal medicines

From the President, National Institute of Medical Herbalists

Sir, Your article, "Old Chinese cure or killer?" (Body and Mind, February 1), raises important issues. The practice of herbal medicine, like its orthodox counterpart, requires a high degree of training and skill.

The disastrous cocktail of a mis-identified Chinese herb, amphetamines, theophylline, deadly nightshade and a conventional diuretic served up by Belgian doctors as a slimming aid to women, made even more vulnerable by the imposition of a calorie-controlled diet, highlights the need for recognition of properly trained herbal practitioners throughout the EC.

The suggestion by the Royal Pharmaceutical Society that medicinal herbs should be licensed is thoroughly impractical since herbs which do not already have licences are now treated as novel substances and each would cost hundreds of thousands of pounds to license. Such an arrangement would effectively legislate the professional practice of herbal medicine out of existence.

The answer surely is to license the trained medical herbalist and to ensure that high standards of quality control are practised by herbal suppliers.

Yours faithfully,
MICHAEL MCINTYRE,
President, National Institute
of Medical Herbalists,
9 Palace Gate, Exeter, Devon,
February 2.

Fabians today

From Ms Glensy Thornton

Sir, I read Anthony Howard's article, "Labour's missing brains" (February 5), with some puzzlement. In attempting to justify his assertion that the Fabian Society is "sadly depleted", he comments that there are only two academics on our executive. Professors Pirioulet and Plant: "a far cry from the days of the Webbs, Shaw and Wells".

Perhaps. But intellectual distinction is not the preserve of the academic — indeed, the two are often quite separate. For one thing, neither the Webbs, Shaw nor Wells were academics. They were, rather, in the long and still flourishing tradition of intellectual life in the Fabian Society.

Howard cites approvingly the academic bent of Conservative Cabinets. If the results of the last 15 years are anything to go by, I rest my case.

Yours sincerely,
GLENYS THORNTON
(Acting General Secretary),
Fabian Society,
11 Dartmouth Street, SW1.

Here's a tip

From Mr D. Denzer

Sir, I was interested in Mr Hamish Anderson's letter (January 27) about tipping being banned at the Strand Palace Hotel, London. I have a telegram sent to me at that address in 1939. The telegraphic address is "Unippable".

Yours faithfully,
D. DENZER,
Summerhill House, Primrose Hill,
Nr Alcester, Warwickshire.

OBITUARIES

STEPHEN MILLIGAN

Stephen Milligan, Conservative MP for Eastleigh, was found dead at his home in Hammersmith on February 7 aged 45. He was born on May 12, 1948.

A PERIOD of less than two years in the House of Commons is usually far too short a time for any firm predictions to be made about an MP's political future — and it is hard not to feel that the prophecies so confidently delivered about Stephen Milligan's long-term prospects owe a good deal to the macabre circumstances that surrounded his death.

Unlike the run of most modern MPs, he, admittedly, came to the Commons with a creditable alternative career behind him. He had been a distinguished journalist in both newspapers and broadcasting — and, indeed, himself feared that he had left his bid to become a politician too late. He was lucky, however, in securing selection in the first Westminster seat he tried for — he had a decade earlier failed to gain a Tory nomination for the European Parliament — but even so it still meant that he was joining the Commons at the relatively late age of 43. If he was going to reach the kind of levels that — in the wake of his death — were forecast for him, his career would certainly have had to develop a remarkable turn of speed.

Stephen David Wyatt Milligan was the son of a company secretary and a ballet teacher mother who died when he was 11. He was educated at Bradford and at Magdalen College, Oxford, where in 1970 he took a second in PPE (although not thought of by his tutor as an automatic academic high-flyer he was on the borderline of a first and might well have got one had he not devoted his energies in his last term to becoming



president of the Oxford Union. On coming down from university, and after a brief debating tour of America, he went to work for *The Economist*, then under the editorship of Alastair Burnet. It was at Burnet's suggestion that he was loaned as a speech-writer to the then Prime Minister Edward Heath, during the ill-fated appeal to the country against the miners' strike of February 1974.

Had the Conservatives not lost that election, it is perfectly possible that Milligan's political career would have taken off nearly two decades earlier than it did. As it was, his revenge was to write a slightly intemperate book — *The New Barons: British Trade Unions in the 1970s* (1976). At heart, however, he was a One Nation Conservative and never felt

wholly at home in the Tory Party once Margaret Thatcher had established her hegemony over it. In 1981 he even briefly joined the SDP (while serving as *The Economist's* Brussels correspondent he had become an admirer of Roy Jenkins). There was always, however, a hard core of ambition in his make-up and — as soon as it became clear that the combined forces of the Liberals and the Social Democrats were not, after all, going to sweep the country — he made his way back to his original party allegiance.

The fact, however, that he had demonstrated that he was not totally ideologically committed may have helped him in securing his first job in broadcasting — which he attained by becoming a presenter for BBC Radio Four's *The World Tonight* in 1980. As a sound radio broadcaster he was not an unqualified success — and there was some surprise that he survived for three years if only as an occasional presenter of the programme (his commitment to the BBC was always secondary to his commitment to *The Economist* where he rapidly progressed from being editor of the paper's Foreign Report to being European editor to running the Britain section).

After 14 years he left *The Economist* in 1984 to join his former colleague Andrew Neil who had just become editor of *The Sunday Times*. His original job there was as foreign editor but after the 1986 move to Wapping (over which he worked extraordinarily hard to convert the staff *refuseniks*, marginally straining the patience of his harder-nosed colleagues in the process) he elected in 1987 to become the paper's Washington correspondent. He remained in that post for only a year and in 1988 took up a new position as BBC TV's Europe correspondent.

An early "Britan," he did not take long to develop doubts — he greatly resented what he saw as "waste" and never really fitted in even with the new structure of news and current affairs within the Corporation. He left with some relief in 1990 after securing the prospective Conservative candidacy for Eastleigh — one motive for his returning to Britain after only a year in Washington had been to pick up the threads on what until then had been a frustrated political career.

The Economist once again provided him with a refuge in the period of just over a year that elapsed between his selection at Eastleigh and the April 1992 general election. He was always attractively conscious of his good fortune — and his only apprehensions arose over whether, in the case of a Kinnock landslide (which the polls sometimes suggested), he would be able to hold on to the seat. In the event, he actually put up the Conservative majority by 4,000 and soon proved himself a dedicated and conscientious constituency MP.

At Westminster, too, he seemed to take effortlessly to parliamentary life from the start emerging as a strong supporter both of John Major and of the Maastricht treaty. His Oxford Union training stood him in good stead in the chamber, where he was beginning to develop as an eloquent and persuasive speaker. The only reservations felt about him stemmed from his tendency to operate as a bit of a loner — although even that had to some extent been rectified by his recent appointment as PPS to Jonathan Aitken, the Minister for Defence Procurement.

Milligan never married (though while in Washington he was briefly engaged to an American) and is survived by his father, two brothers and a sister.

ARNOLD SMITH

Arnold Smith, CH, OC, first Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, 1965-75, died on February 7 aged 79. He was born on January 18, 1915.

A CANADIAN career diplomat, Arnold Smith came to the secretary-generalship of the Commonwealth in 1965 after more than a quarter of a century of experience in high-level postings, including two embassies, Moscow and Cairo. Among the more serious problems faced by the Commonwealth during his period in office were Rhodesia's UDI, in reaction to which the Organisation of African Unity threatened that all its members would break diplomatic relations with Britain; the Nigerian civil war during which he visited the leaders on both sides; and a full-scale war between two of its member states, India and Pakistan which led to the latter's leaving the Commonwealth in 1972. It was to his great satisfaction after leaving office that Pakistan returned to the fold 17 years later.

At the time of the establishment of the Commonwealth secretariat Smith knew his country needed membership of the Commonwealth as a balance to the magnetic attraction of the United States; but that, owing to the racial mix in Canada, it must be a Commonwealth of equals, not subservient to the United Kingdom. Not that he was in any sense hostile to the UK. When, towards the end of his term, the UK became a member of the European Community, he cautioned Commonwealth member nations not to be hostile to the idea, arguing that UK membership could build a better economic relationship between developed and developing nations.

Arnold Smith was born in Toronto and educated at Upper Canada College before going to France where he spent some time at the Lycée Champollion at Grenoble. Subsequently he attended the University of Toronto, from where he went as a Rhodes Scholar to Christ Church, Oxford, in 1936.

In 1939, anxious to see more of Europe before returning to Canada, he answered an advertisement for an editor for *The Baltic Times*, a bi-monthly journal published in Tallinn, Estonia. Accepted for the job, he eked out the slender salary by becoming a part-time lecturer at Tartu University and an attaché at the British legation in Tallinn.

After the Baltic states were annexed by the Soviet Union in 1940 Smith and his family were allowed to make their way via Leningrad, Moscow, Odessa and Turkey to Egypt. There he spent two years as a member of the political warfare section of the British Embassy in Cairo, before returning home and entering the Canadian Foreign Service in 1942. When Lester Pearson was made permanent head of this service, Arnold Smith became one of his closest assistants and was largely responsible for the original concept of Nato.

Canada took a critical attitude to Britain's ill-fated Suez venture in 1956 but worked for reconciliation within the Commonwealth. At the UN, a Canadian initiative was mainly responsible for securing an agreement that Britain and the rest of the Commonwealth could accept. In this Smith played an influential part which was recognised when he was appointed Ambassador to Cairo in 1958. He set himself to help repair the almost non-existent relations between Britain and Egypt. He succeeded in winning Nasser's personal regard and made a prime contribution to overcoming the differences of injured pride and arrogance between the two countries.

In 1960 he became ambassador in Moscow and in September (when both the British and American ambassadors were

away) he got wind of a plot by Khrushchev for a coup in Berlin. He at once warned the governments in London and Washington. In the event the Cuba crisis supervened and the tables were turned on Moscow.

Smith's first few months as Secretary-General of the Commonwealth were a baptism of fire. Within a short while it was brought almost to breaking point by the Unilateral Declaration of Independence declared by the Ian Smith Rhodesia. It was a tribute to Arnold Smith's leadership that he managed to preserve a fabric of cohesion in the face of such a radical challenge to the animating principle of the Commonwealth.

Smith carefully cultivated what may be called the sub-links of Commonwealth, made up of a host of intergovernmental and many unofficial bodies. He became the chief organiser and mainstay of Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meetings. His faith in the Commonwealth never wavered and he frankly faced the many problems that arose. In 1967, when African problems dominated the Commonwealth, he publicly stated that "disenchantment is widespread and becoming more widespread. The conflict arises from the differences in race and economic levels."

In February 1968, on his



own initiative, he visited Nigeria during the civil war and talked with the leaders of both sides. He worked for a plan for a Commonwealth force, which came to nothing. But that he was trusted to be fair and independent helped in an intractable quarrel.

In January 1971 at the Singapore Prime Ministers' meeting he boldly entered into the crisis arising out of the British decision to sell arms to South Africa. He forcefully transmitted the British leaders' profound concern, felt in many Commonwealth countries. At the same time, he expressed strong disapproval of the formality and rigidity that appeared at the Singapore meeting. It was, he said, "important that the Commonwealth should not become too institutionalised..." On retiring from the secretary-generalship in 1975 after two five-year terms, he was created a Companion of Honour.

After handing over the secretary-generalship to Sir "Sonny" Ramphal, Smith took his international experience into academic life. He was Lester B. Pearson Professor of International Affairs at Carleton University, Ottawa, 1975-81, and Monague Burton Lecturer in International Relations at Leeds University in 1982. He was a trustee of the Cambridge University Commonwealth Trust, a life vice-president of the Royal Commonwealth Society. He held honorary degrees from universities all over the world. Smith was appointed an Officer of the Order of Canada (OC) in 1985. He married, in 1938, Evelyn Hardwick Stewart by whom he had two sons and a daughter. She died in 1987 and he married in 1989 Frances McFarland Lee.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL OSWALD CARY-ELWES

Lieutenant-Colonel Oswald Cary-Elwes, soldier and military diplomat, died on January 2 aged 80. He was born on November 14, 1913.

THE younger brother of Don Columbia Cary-Elwes, who also died last month, Oswald Cary-Elwes had many claims to fame — but probably the greatest of them lay in his wartime exploits with the SAS and in the contribution he made to good relations between the French and British armies.

Oliver Aloysius Joseph Cary-Elwes was the youngest of the eight children of Charles and Edythe Cary-Elwes. His father and maternal grandfather, Sir John Ropek Parkington, were champagne shippers. Cary-Elwes, like his father, was a fluent French speaker and wine connoisseur. He was educated at

Ampleforth College where he excelled at boxing and rugby. His school contemporaries included many people later to distinguish themselves in the Second World War, most notably David Stirling, founder of the SAS and his brother Bill.

Cary-Elwes was commissioned into the 2nd Battalion, the Lincolnshire Regiment in 1933 and in 1936 he got his first taste of action in Palestine. Early in the war he was, to his chagrin, sent to Lagos as Brigade Major, Nigerian Brigade. But in 1942 he was posted to the 1st Army in North Africa for Operation Torch and the liberation of Algeria. In 1943 he eagerly accepted Bill Stirling's invitation to join the newly-formed 2nd SAS Regiment, and took part in SAS operations in Sicily and Italy.

In January 1944 the SAS Brigade was formed and Cary-Elwes joined its HQ at Sorn Castle in Ayrshire. The



Cary-Elwes at an SAS dedication ceremony in France on September 5, 1988

wartime SAS regiments were unique in that soldiers of different nationalities fought together under the same command. Cary-Elwes was the main SAS link with the French — not always an easy task as the Gaullists and former sup-

porters of Vichy, who had changed sides only after Operation Torch, found themselves living cheek-by-jowl. He was also concerned with the planning and implementation of the SAS parachute drop into occupied France on D-Day which aimed to prevent as many German troops as possible from attacking the Allied invading forces.

The 4th French SAS Battalion parachuted into Brittany on the night of June 5-6, 1944, and set up a base at St Marcel to arm and train a Maquis army to fight alongside the SAS. On June 18 the Germans attacked the base but sustained heavy losses. The officer-in-charge, the one-armed Commandant Bourgoin, immediately dispersed his men.

On the night of June 23 Cary-Elwes, accompanied by his batman Corporal Eric Mills and a French radio team, made a blind parachute jump into the area to find Bourgoin and his battalion. They were to support the arming of the Maquis army and re-establish contact with Brigade HQ in London. The mission successfully completed, it only remained for Cary-Elwes and Mills to get back to London.

However, on the night of July 23, as Cary-Elwes and his group were waiting in a safe house, the owner mistakenly opened the front door to a

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WAR CRIMINALS LIST.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

PARIS, Feb. 8. All's well that ends well, and Lord Birkenhead, who had alarmed French opinion with suggested modifications of the application of Article 228 of the Peace Treaty on Friday, was able to subscribe on Saturday, after a further meeting, to a communiqué stating that the Allies by unanimous agreement were going to hand over the list of German war criminals to the Berlin Government as soon as possible...

The French Press is neither blind nor deaf, and it has known for some time past that Mr. Lloyd George was opposed to asking for the surrender of generals such as Hindenburg and Ludendorff, who, in his opinion, had made war ruthlessly, but who could not be called upon to shoulder the responsibility for all the atrocious acts committed by those under their command.

A study of the British position of this list shows that the British Government, indeed, has not asked for the trial of Supreme Army Commanders, but that nevertheless it demands the surrender of Admiral von Tirpitz and Admiral von Capelle. The French Press has also read, and it comments with some

ON THIS DAY

February 9 1920

First World War criminals were lower in number than those of the Second World War, (and their infamy was less horrendous). The Kaiser escaped prosecution ("On This Day", January 24, 1994); of the 12 who did come to trial in Leipzig in 1921, six were convicted and received only light sentences.

The list contains the names of nearly 900 people, as well as indicating various offenders whose names are not mentioned and who are, therefore, presumably not known by name. The crimes alleged range from ordinary theft to wholesale murder, and the persons charged from Princes to private soldiers. The French ask for the surrender of 334 individuals, and

the names on their list include the most notorious of the German Army commanders. Chief among them is the Crown Prince, who is charged with the responsibility for the burning of French villages, systematic devastation, and simple theft from Coirey, where he removed to Germany everything of value from the house where he was billeted. The French also ask for the Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria, who, it is alleged, gave a formal order that no British prisoners should be made. His soldiers disobeying this order were severely punished. British prisoners were not sent into Germany, but were taken to G.H.Q., and with their hands tied behind their backs and with their eyes bandaged, were shot down by German officers.

General von Kluck, together with many of his officers, is included in the list on account of the burning of many houses at Senlis and the murder of many civilians. Among the princely personages accused of vulgar theft are the Duke of Mecklenburg, Prince Eitel Friedrich of Hohenzollern, Prince August of Hohenzollern, and the Grand Duke of Hesse. Hindenburg and Ludendorff are held responsible for the systematic destruction of the whole of Northern France, pillage, deportation of women, and other offences...

VALENTINE'S DAY MESSAGES

Don't miss out on the opportunity to send the one you love an exclusive Valentine's Gift together with a message in *The Times* on Monday 14th February. Today is the last day to order a gift.

Messages alone can be placed right up until Friday 11th February 12 noon.

Please telephone 071 481 4000 to book your gift and message

Most charities are struggling to maintain their income after the recession, reports Derek Harris

Cash crisis as funds in the kitty fall short

Philanthropy has long been seen as a key foundation to the British way of life. Underscoring that is the statistic that 65 per cent of Britons give to charity.

Last March, some nine million Comic Relief red noses adorned car fronts, cycles, house doors and human noses as contributions poured into the charity which in four national appeals since 1985 has raised more than £90 million. The last appeal has raised just over £18 million with more to come (two years before, the total raised was £21 million). More found that 16 per cent of the population were prompted by red nose day to donate to other charities.

Charities in Britain now have an annual income approaching £18 billion, according to the Charities Aid Foundation (CAF). There are more than 170,000 charities in England and Wales alone. Overall, annual donations have in five years risen from an estimated band of £2.6 billion-£3.9 billion to £4.8 billion-£6.7 billion. There was a series of modest annual increases, virtually a standstill in 1991 and then a surge during the financial year 1992-1993.

Michael Brophy, CAF's executive director, says that "very real problems" confronted many British charities especially as recession took hold. Research has shown a widening gap between needs and resources, despite the increase in the number of charities (4,000 new ones are registered every year). The problem is that the competition for cash has also increased from, for example, grant-maintained schools and trust hospitals.

People gave on average £6.10 per

month in 1987, declining to £5.16 in 1991 and climbing to £6.58 in 1992. Even larger charities, traditionally the most resilient, have been struggling to keep pace.

To help them keep their banking costs down, the TSB has introduced a "charities package". The bank will provide free banking facilities to charities that do not have paid officials and whose turnover is less than £100,000 a year, while bigger charities will get top-tier interest rates. The People's Dispensary for Sick Animals has signed up for the deal.

At first glance it appears that the top 200 fund-raising charities have not performed at all badly. CAF research shows that in 1992 they increased their total income to nearly £1.4 billion, a 4 per cent increase in real terms.

But Mr Brophy says: "Were it not for a remarkable performance by the Save The Children Fund the real increase in the total income of the top 200 charities would be less than 2 per cent." The Save The Children Fund, backed by the BBC television appeal, collected £70.4 million in voluntary income in the year, making it for the first time the top charity earner after being in sixth position in the "league" the previous year. More than 70 per cent of its income comes from voluntary sources.

It pushed the National Trust (£65.2 million) out of the number one spot, with the Royal National Lifeboat Institution (£55.8 million) staying in the number three spot. Oxfam (£53.3 million), which had been number two the year before, slipped to fourth position. Others in the top ten were: Imperial Cancer Research Fund (£47.5 million),



The People's Dispensary for Sick Animals is the first client to use TSB's new charities package

Cancer Research Campaign (£41 million), Barnardo's (£34.5 million), RSPCA (£33 million), Salvation Army (£31.4 million) and Help the Aged (£29 million).

With non-voluntary income, which includes fees and grants from central and local government, the top 200 charities had seen a 5 per cent rise while the next 200 were hit by a 16 per cent fall. Net

assets of the top 200 rose by 4 per cent while the second 200 suffered a 10 per cent decline.

Grant-making trusts — Wellcome is the biggest but others include Tudor, the Royal Society, the British Academy, Wolfson, Gatsby, Leverhulme and Baring — for the third successive year disbursed more cash than they received in income. Mr Brophy says:

"Grantmakers everywhere report a massive increase in applications." Government support for the sector has stayed the same, while local authorities have tended to shift away from grant-funding to fee-remuneration. More than two-thirds of the top 30 corporate givers (each donating £1 million or more) say they cannot maintain as high a level of giving.

Called to account by the commission

New legislation, which will be fully operational before the end of the year, will at once give more protection to charities and make them more accountable, Derek Harris writes.

The Charities Act 1992 has brought more changes in the charities business than for three decades. It is leading to increased scrutiny by charity commissioners of the activities of all charities and so should improve public confidence when giving.

The Charity Commission has already gained more power, and after consultations with charities new regulations to oversee them should be implemented under the 1992 Act by the autumn.

Richard Fries, the chief charity commissioner, says: "It will mean looking at how the new structure affecting charities is brought into force and particularly getting the right balance between providing a framework of oversight and ensuring that charities are not overburdened."

Big charities dealing with millions of pounds should have sophisticated management systems and correct accounting procedures, says Mr Fries. He adds: "Small village charities and new community charities must be given the minimum of restrictions while also encouraging them to adopt good practice and management."

The commission sees itself not as a punitive body but as a supportive one. Under the Act it has, for example, more power to intervene to protect charities when they may be running into problems due to inexperience.

Monitoring is already being tightened up by the commission, which has been getting more information from charities. The London-based commission has raised efficiency through computerisation, increasing its staff to more than 700 and setting up closer regional coverage. It has a long-established northern outpost in Liverpool and a new branch in Taunton, Somerset.

Most charities will have to be registered with the commission although there are some exemptions, mostly national institutions such as the British Museum and some educational establishments such as the Oxford and Cambridge university colleges. Small charities with less than £1,000 a year in income do not have to register, although the commission still has powers over them.

Registration should be regarded as a badge of integrity which may help a charity in its fund-raising and in building up a sound following of supporters. Mr Fries says: "The business of the commission is to ensure people can trust a charity."

The Act disqualifies unsuitable people from becoming trustees, precluding, for example, anybody convicted of dishonesty, disqualified from being a company director, who is bankrupt or has failed to meet payments demanded under county court administration orders.

Mr Fries says: "It will provide a better oversight and structure for working in partnership with the sector to develop standards. Nothing, however, can absorb all abuses, maladministration or inefficiency."

Although the Act has been ushering in a new era, there is other legislation which is also affecting charities. For example, the Care in the Community Act has presented many difficulties for St Mungo's, a London housing association, which provides housing for some of London's estimated 5,000 homeless people and care for terminally ill people living on the streets. St Mungo's gets £10 million a year from the Government towards running costs at 50 hostels.

John Lane, director of St Mungo's, says: "We are grappling with the Care in the Community Act, which threatens some of our most vulnerable residents by, in some cases, seriously cutting funding for our registered care homes."

We must ensure people can trust a charity

At last, easy-to-understand accounts

New procedures will simplify reports — and make extra work

WHEN ALL the Charities Act 1992 regulations have been introduced in the early summer, a revision of accounting procedures will also be unveiled.

Charities will have to comply with the Statement of Recommended Practice No. 2 — Sorp2 — which has been under revision by the Charity Commission, Derek Harris writes. An exposure draft came out last March.

Michael Webber, chairman of the charity accounting review committee set up by the commission to review Sorp2, says: "The aim is to achieve accurate and intelligible accounts that will underpin the

integrity of the charity sector." The draft introduced half a dozen main changes: a more prescriptive approach, expanded trustees' reports, a new way of covering financial activities, a new basis for valuing investments, new expenditure classifications and new proposals on summarised accounts. One aim has been to concentrate the main details of a charity's activities and financial situation, including its reserves, on the

front page of the accounts so its state of financial health may be readily assessed.

The Charities Act 1992 is far more detailed on accounting procedure than the 1960 Act which preceded it. There are tough requirements for full

accounting records to explain all transactions.

Professional auditing will be required of charities with incomes exceeding £100,000. Smaller ones will need only to be independently examined by, for example, an accountant. Accounts and the trustees' annual report have to go to the Charity Commission within ten months of the accounting year-end.

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COIF

The end of an era for charities and their custodians



Shirley Gillingham has cleared the investments of about 20,000 charities so far

The official custodian for charities, Shirley Gillingham, is proving highly efficient at returning investments to trustees, writes Rodney Hobson. So efficient that she has worked herself out of a job 18 months early. She will relinquish her duties next month and take up another post with the Charity Commission.

Mrs Gillingham became official custodian three years ago. The post was established in 1960 to administer investments held on behalf of individual charities. It was never the custodian's role actively to invest, merely to carry out the instructions of the trustees and to hold the securities.

Under the 1992 Charities Act, Mrs Gillingham is attempting to return all the investments to the trustees and wind up the custodian's role—a daunting task since most of

Under the 1992 Act, charities must now see to their own investments

the charities involved are small and many are dormant. The original aim was to complete the task by June 1997. So much of the work has now been done that Mrs Gillingham can step aside with an easy conscience. She says: "The original timetable allowed for more problems in contacting trustees of individual charities than we actually encountered. Also, the Charities Act took a year to come into operation and we used that time to get all the records in order, so we were able to get off to a good start."

Mrs Gillingham held the investments of nearly 40,000 charities when she began her task. Nearly half have been cleared.

sell their holdings. Smaller ones are likely to find that the custodian can get a better price for them as she can amalgamate the holdings of several charities into one transaction and so cut dealing costs.

Mrs Gillingham says trustees have reacted well to the exercise. Many small charities are taking the opportunity to spend the cash and wind up or to merge with other like-minded funds.

When the whole operation is wrapped up, any outstanding securities will be sold and the cash distributed in the fairest way. Cash for a particular religious denomination will stay within that denomination. Cash intended for a specific use in a particular area will go to a similar charity in the same country. Mrs Gillingham is confident that no more than £15,000 will be left unclaimed.

Waiting for the whammy

The worst is yet to come as new taxes start to take effect

"TAX WHAMMIES" have become a political cliché. Unfortunately, many charities still do not realise what is going to hit them.

Nowhere in the latest budget speech in November did Kenneth Clarke, Chancellor of the Exchequer, mention charities. Rodney Hobson writes. Many organisations were braced for the worst as the Government strove to cut public spending and to raise more income. Any drastic raising of income tax would have hit charitable giving. Sighs of relief should be tempered, though. The main blow will be the imposition of VAT on fuel, already announced by Norman Lamont, the former chancellor.

Nigel Dismore, in the Newcastle upon Tyne office of Coopers & Lybrand, says: "Many charities do not realise they are affected. The truth is slowly dawning. The VAT imposition comes at a bad time for charities. There has been a lot of legislation that was not intended to hurt charities, but which has had that effect."

Mr Dismore says some charities, such as those that provide housing, will be particularly affected. He says: "The Chancellor is slapping 17.5 per cent on what is for some charities the biggest expense after staff costs. I know of one group looking after old people with an annual fuel bill of £70,000. That means a big additional cost for a charity providing care that a lot of people think the Government should subsidise."

Charities will also be affected by the 3 per cent levy on insurance premiums introduced by Mr Clarke. Cover on buildings, contents and computers will attract the additional charge.

The air-passenger duty of £5 for passengers travelling inside the European Union and £10 elsewhere will have an impact on charities that regularly send workers abroad. The tax is on airlines but will almost certainly be passed on to the passengers.

There will be a small benefit to charities in changes to the employer's National Insurance contributions and statutory sick pay.

Why charities have lost faith and hope

While eight consortiums battle for the right to run the National Lottery, some charities are expressing concern that they could actually end up worse off as money is diverted from individual causes into the general pot.

The National Council for Voluntary Organisations (NCVO), which represents more than 600 voluntary bodies, estimates that British charities face a net loss of about £147 million a year once the lottery is up and running.

The National Lottery Act was passed in October and the eight interested groups must submit definitive proposals by February 14.

Peter Davis, Director-General of the National Lottery, is hoping to announce the results in May. It could be in place by the autumn, with the winning consortium holding the licence until March 2001.

The NCVO has campaigned hard, and with some success, during the Bill's passage through Parliament.

Even so, Margaret Bolton, the NCVO's Economic Policy Officer, says: "We are still concerned at the impact the

Smaller bodies stand to lose out when the National Lottery comes into effect, writes Rodney Hobson

lottery could have on individual giving. We are also concerned that central and local government will be tempted to reduce their support."

In Britain, door-to-door and street collections are the most frequently used form of fund-raising, while charity events are the most lucrative.

At the heart of the argument is the impact that a similar lottery has had in the Republic of Ireland. The Government claims that the top 20 charities there have increased their income by 30 per cent. The NCVO says the figure is only 19 per cent and is in any case based on a small, unrepresentative sample.

Miss Bolton says: "The survey covered Ireland's biggest charities. They were able to respond to the competition from the lottery by pumping more resources into fund-raising. We surveyed 100 Irish charities and found that the lottery had had a definite negative impact. A third re-

ported a reduction in income even though most received proceeds from the lottery."

If the NCVO is right, the lottery will exaggerate an existing trend in Britain where overall voluntary sector income has fallen while that of leading charities has grown.

Current thinking is that 50 per cent of money will go on prizes, 15 per cent on administration and 25 per cent will be split five ways among good causes, including 5 per cent to charities. That would leave the Government with a 10 per cent tax slice—twice as much as the charities get. The NCVO wants good causes to share at least 35 per cent of the money.

The council accepts that about half the lottery proceeds must be ploughed back in prize money. However, there is concern that the jackpot could be too large. The Act allows the top prize to be carried over to the following week if it is not won outright. The NCVO wants the top prize

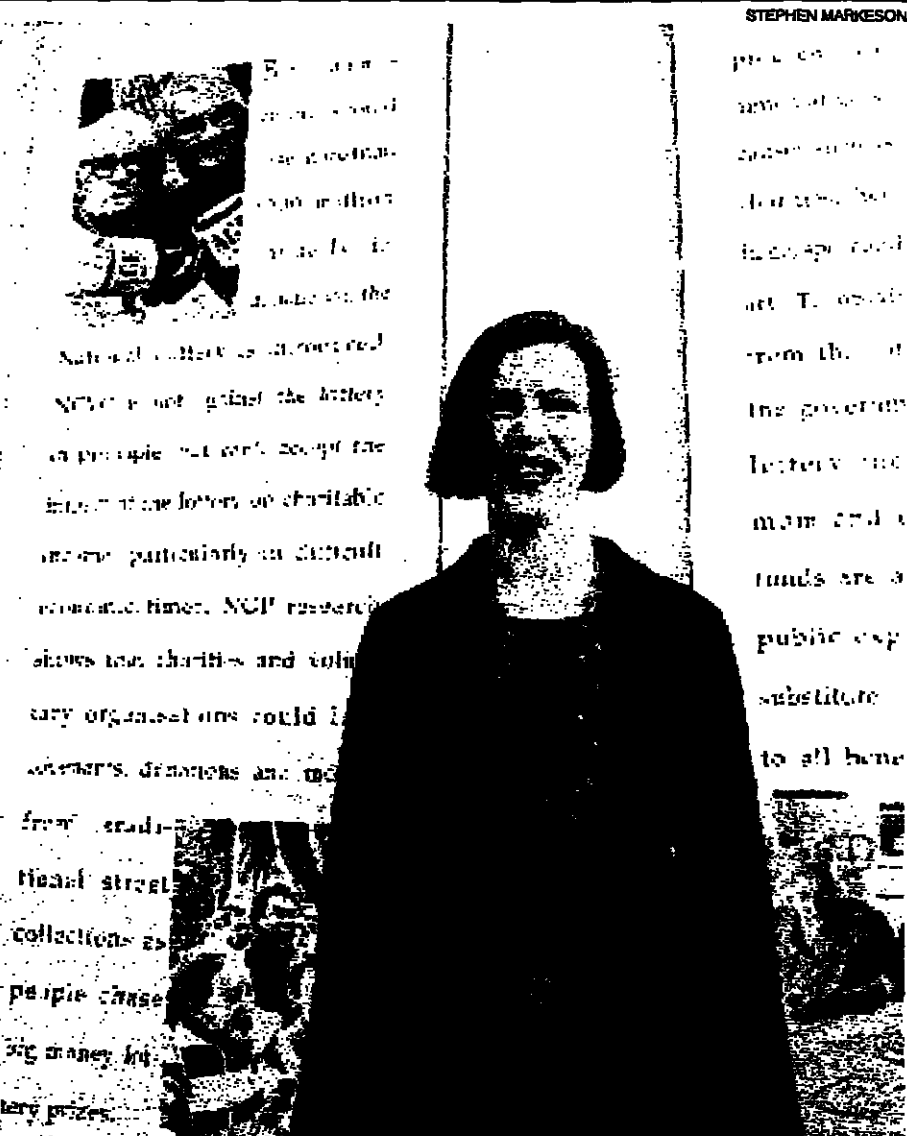
to be won every week, with the nearest runner-up scooping the jackpot if there is no outright winner.

Estimates of potential prize money vary but a triple prize is unlikely to be less than £4 million; the most optimistic puts it at £20 million.

Miss Bolton says: "We believe that the Government has seriously underestimated the sort of jackpot that a rollover would produce. In some countries where there have been large prizes there have been stories of people spending up to £40 on tickets, with queues stretching along the pavement and motorways being blocked."

Such figures look extreme but a £10 million win on a state lottery in America is by no means unknown: one paid out a top prize of £70 million. The UK version is expected to generate an annual revenue of at least £4 billion, which means more than £2 billion for prize money.

The council has won a concession from the Government that it will monitor the effect of the lottery on charities and will take that into consideration when it reviews how the cash is shared out.



Margaret Bolton says the lottery could reduce contributions to charities

CHARITY INVESTMENT INCOME?

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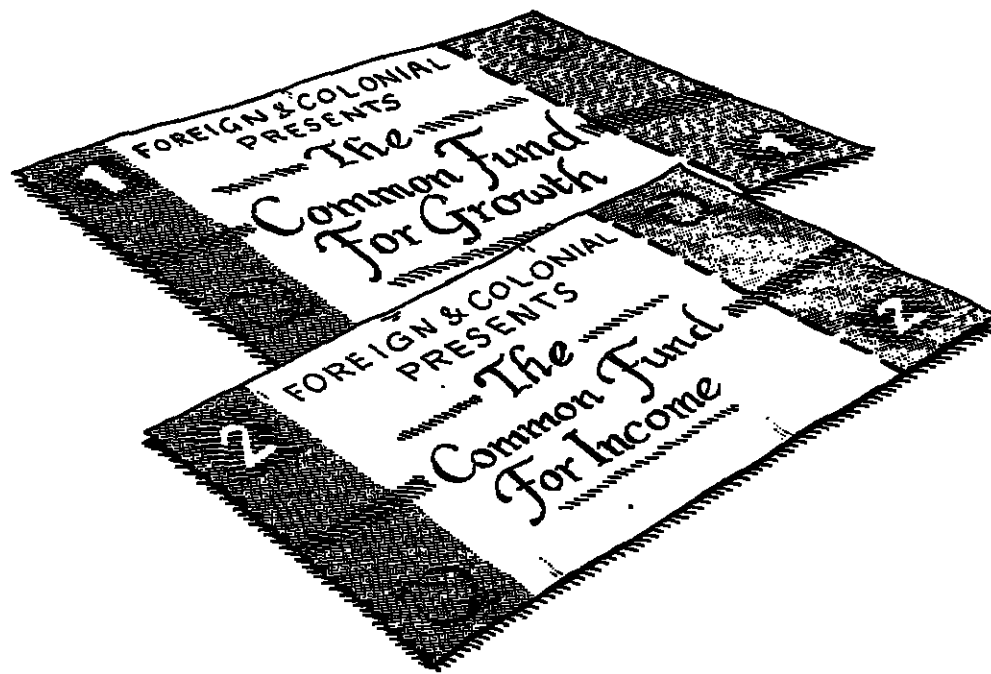
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New men on the shelves

So there is a magazine market for men after all. When male mags first appeared in the late 1980s the received wisdom was that it was a niche too far. "Just a gimmick," said some. "Americans enjoy them but male culture is different in Britain," said others. It was generally accepted that pictures of moody blokes lounging about in tasty trousers would make grown men wince and read *Cosmopolitan* instead.

The doubters have been proved wrong, as the latest circulation figures for the four competing titles prove. Their sales have been rising steadily and, in some cases, spectacularly. The six-monthly comparisons, detailed in the chart (right), show just how well all did in 1993. But the year-on-year increases for both *Arena* and *GQ*, 15 per cent and 10 per cent respectively — alongside 38 per cent for *Esquire* — give an even better picture of their good health.

Of course, these totals must be seen in context. They are very small compared with the women's market and way behind established magazines in other sectors. None of the male titles has yet become one of the 100 top-selling UK magazines. But these are the new kids on the racks and publishers are delighted with the trend.

"We are still small fry compared to women's mags," says Kathryn Flett, editor of *Arena*, the first general men's magazine to move into the field. "But after a lengthy educational process, we are on the way up. The magazines are growing into themselves."

All agree that it has taken time to overcome male reticence. Francis Cottam, editor of *FHM*, admits there were "damaging preconcep-

Publishers are sorting out the men from the boys. Roy Greenslade reports

tions" that men's magazines would be either gay or pornographic, or both. Memories of *Playboy*, its pneumatic centrefolds and turgid, highbrow interviews, played their part in public perceptions. Mr Cottam says: "We have gradually overcome prejudice just by being around, proving we aren't what people thought. Then it has spread by word of mouth."

Michael VerMeulen, editor of *GQ*, insists: "It was a failure of imagination. There was a market and it needed to be tapped. What we were dealing with was pent-up demand and no supply. The logical conclusion is that demand is now being gratified by necessary supply, just like blue jeans, Swatch watches and deep-dish pizza."

Mr VerMeulen, an American for whom the word "brash" was invented, comes from a culture where men's magazines have a long history, back to the *Esquire* of the 1930s. The successful launch in Britain of *Arena* by Nick Logan — who had previously broken new ground with *The Face* — led to the entrance of the American giants, Condé Nast and Hearst, with their imported titles, *GQ* and *Esquire*. *GQ* arrived late in 1988 and has forced its way, but only just, to the top. *Esquire* launched its British edition in early 1991 and is now making all the running.

Rosie Boycott's success at *Esquire* won her the title of 1993 Magazine Editor of the Year, though the award had more to do with editorial content than sales. She feels that *Esquire* has now found its way back to its glorious American past of good, intelligent writing after "a wobbly period of its and literature."

That pernicious *Playboy* influence again. "The younger generation of men feel fine about buying us," says Ms Boycott. "The magazine is hip, fun and validates life."

Esquire appears to treat fashion in a more light-hearted manner than the other three, and Ms Boycott points to the quality of her regular writing talent — Martin Amis, Rian Malan, Paul Morley, Laura Thompson — as evidence of her readership's respect for intelligent content.

Even *FHM*, which was almost exclusively devoted to fashion seven years ago, is scaling down the pages of men in neat suits, concentrating instead on articles about emotional and sexual issues. Mr Cottam says: "We cut the fashion because the conspicuous consumption of the 1980s is past. Guys in *Comme des Garçons* suits sporting Mont Blanc pens are social dinosaurs."

Arena is well liked by its three rivals, who appreciate its iconoclastic, idiosyncratic style. Its content is

less topical, more reflective, with a strong bias towards style rather than fashion.

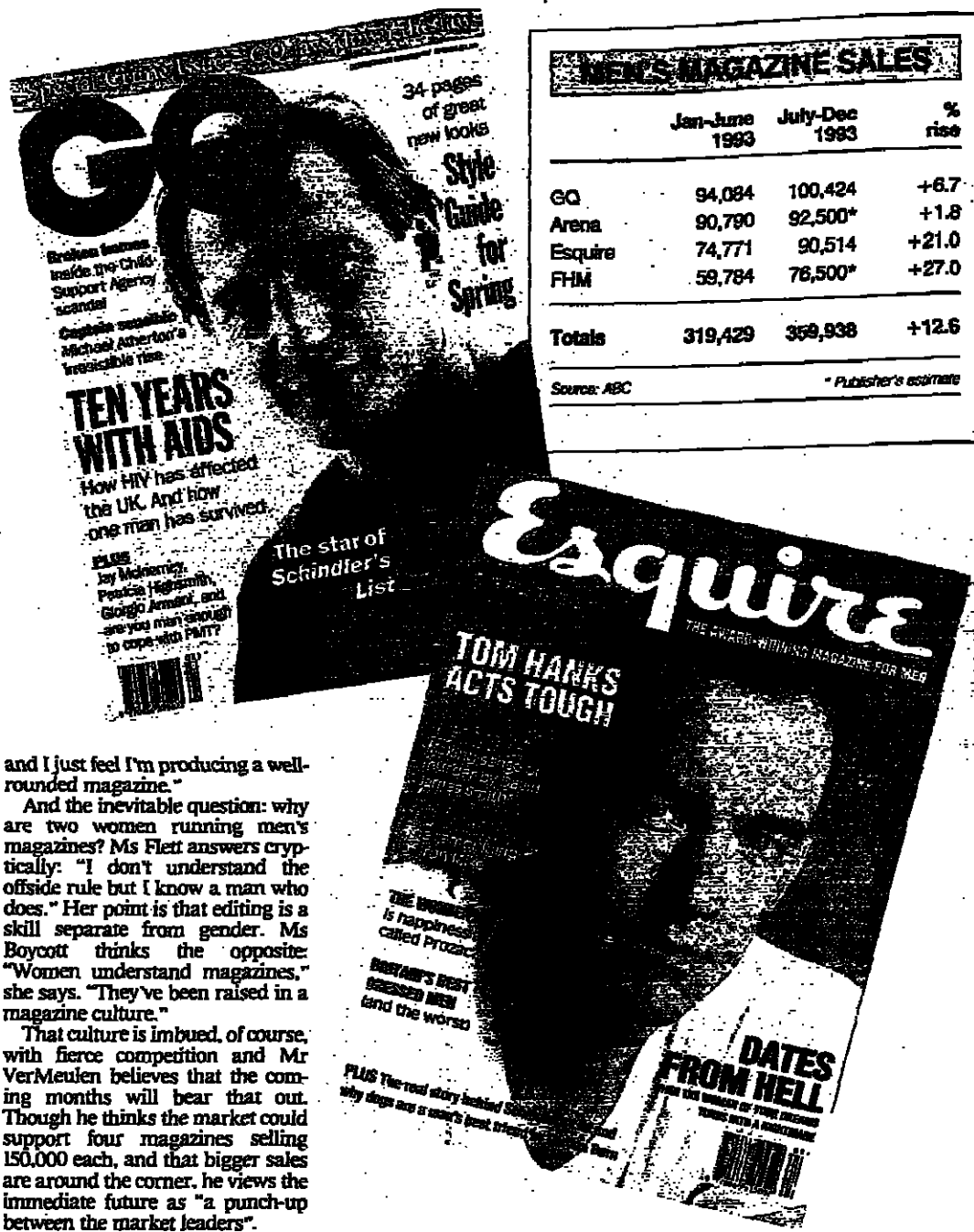
But in an apparent departure from the anti-fashion trend, Ms Flett reveals she is editing a new twice-yearly magazine, *Arena Homme Plus*, to be launched next month. "It will be 100 per cent fashion with 100 pages of fashion visual," she says.

Ms Flett also broke with convention in her choice of cover picture in last autumn's *Arena*: President John Kennedy. Neither *GQ* nor *Esquire* would risk a dead man on the front. As in all magazines, everyone agrees that covers are crucial and hours are spent debating, thinking, worrying and thinking again. The indecision is final.

Will *Esquire*'s Tom Hanks do as well as last month's Robert de Niro? Will *GQ*'s Liam Neeson beat *Arena*'s Daryl Hannah? Were *Esquire*'s acknowledged failures last year — Jimmy Nail, the actor, and Paul Gascoigne — due to the men themselves or the choice of picture? In the end, there is a tendency to rely on Hollywood. Unlike women's magazines, models are out. "If we do a male model," explains Ms Boycott, "we'll be branded as a fashion mag."

Like editors everywhere, it is no good asking for precise reasons about how each decides what to publish and why. Mr VerMeulen says: "If it interests me, I think it will interest other guys."

Ms Boycott prefers a collegiate approach, enjoying a debate with her senior staff to reach a consensus on content. Ms Flett, at 29 the youngest of the four, says: "*Arena* is conceived on gut instinct. I've grown up in my trade, learned it



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MEN'S MAGAZINE SALES			
	Jan-June 1993	July-Dec 1993	% rise
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Arena	90,790	92,500*	+1.8
Esquire	74,771	90,514	+21.0
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THE SUNDAY TIMES

Is the media largely to blame for the mythical status of public figures, asks Roger Graef

Screen image: Michael Portillo, left, and Michael Howard on BBC's *On The Record*, but often the off-the-cuff quotes get politicians into trouble

Just because you're paranoid doesn't mean they're not after you. Michael Portillo's attack on the media for producing cynicism is partly accurate: watching politicians in action engenders a fairly jaundiced view of human nature.

But before Mr Portillo's own most recent gaffe is forgotten in the hush-hush surrounding his colleague, Stephen Milligan's mysterious death, it is worth a moment's attention to Mr Portillo's apology for his remarks about foreigners: "I was speaking off the cuff and said more than I intended to. After all, politicians are only human." Although quickly accused by journalistic cynics of being fraudulent — he'd made the same speech two nights earlier — this was nevertheless a rare appeal to our human frailty from a group of people who devote a major proportion of their energies to eliminating all signs of it.

After extensive schooling in the arts of dressing and movement, they are groomed and managed by their spin doctors to the point that they appear like polished characters from *Invasion of the Body Snatchers*, hatched as ersatz human replicas, equipped with everything but feelings. Unlike other people, they seldom admit to ignorance, confusion, emotion or mistakes. In short, they appear larger than life, which makes their fall, when it happens, more of a shock.

This elevation of public figures to mythic status is a joint effort. Far from the media being permanently at war with the Establishment, it more often does it. Our sycophantic attitude to (most) royalty, now including supermodels, designers and film stars — what might be called the *Heidi* syndrome — infects colour magazines, feature coverage and talk shows.

That is relatively harmless. But gossip. But we are also delighted to be welcomed in to what *Le Monde* called the new "aristocracy of information", the politicians and power brokers, the generals, the heads of industry and institutions. To win and keep our access — vital to survival in an increasingly competitive world — we allow ourselves to be confined and

Politicians are human, aren't they?

manipulated by guidelines imposed on us even by people elected and acting on our behalf.

We need heroes, as we need villains, to make sense of the world. So we transform our reporting of complex issues wherever possible into stories with a human face. Despite the fabled British concern for how we play the game, even in Parliamentary exchanges, we heap praise on winners and scorn on losers.

This crude language divides people and information into good and bad. It excludes nuances and paradoxes: a rise in the number of reported rapes is good — it means an increase in women's confidence in the police, not an increase of violence to blame on the police. Efforts to deal with complex issues such as crime and drugs become "wars", a word that obscures their intractable causes and unlikely resolution.

Real wars, too, are far too messy to be reported accurately, with fault, damage and cruelty on both sides. Nowhere have the spin doctors achieved more effective control than in the coverage of military action, as in Panama and most recently, the Gulf war. Many journalists there objected to being tightly restricted, but the vetted pool of approved reporters were furious when outsiders bypassed their minds.

According to AP Bureau Chief Mort Rosenblum, in his chilling account of media manipulation *Who Stole The*

News?, when the head of public affairs for the Pentagon came to the Gulf and asked reporters how the pool arrangements had worked, he was told it was "the worst disaster for the public in American history". He went home to write about it in *The Washington Post* as a great success.

Professional journalists who resist toeing the official line risk retribution. A photographer who published a poignant picture revealing pain and loss on the Allied side that had been carefully kept from the American people found himself, several years later, unable to gain a place on the US airlift into Sarajevo. Far worse fates await courageous journalists in more authoritarian countries: arrest, or simply execution.

Tension between those in power and those who wish to report their actions perhaps unflatteringly is hardly new, and is a fitting part of the balance of authority — after the monarchy, Parliament, and the Church, the media is the Fourth Estate. But where does that leave ordinary people?

Only a nation of couch potatoes, entertained and distracted by bread and circuses, would accept the charade of Parliamentary Question Time, with its planted questions and prepared answers, as a satisfactory form of public accountability. This dialogue of the deaf is restaged many times, on television and radio.

Most spin doctors do not urge their clients to lie outright, they reasonably attempt to put the best face on good news, and limit the damage caused by bad. Moreover, in some situations early disclosure might damage potentially positive outcomes, such as in peace talks. But in a country without constitutional rights to information we are in their hands. As more power and public money retreats into unaccountable quangos, why should we trust them to come clean?

As channels of "communication" proliferate, communication itself is at greater risk. As Norman Lamont lamented, greater efforts go into manipulating information rather than getting on with the job of business or government. In news rooms, millions of words and hours of film are cut to agendas often set by governments themselves. As sources multiply, those on the receiving end are overwhelmed, unable to distinguish between a welter of news, speculation, and disinformation. The more information we have thrown at us, the less we take in.

Perhaps we would be more receptive to ministerial behaviour if their advisors could encourage them to admit to being human more often. The experience of my own fly-on-the-wall films shot inside government and international institutions — with mutually agreed guidelines — suggests they are missing a golden opportunity: we would trust them more if they could acknowledge that their job was truly difficult and that they had no easy answers.

How reassuring it would be if ministers who responded to criticism and changed their minds — as Michael Howard did last week about appointing the heads of Police Authorities — were able to discuss their reasons openly. After all, another "spin" on such events is to see them as proof of democracy in action, rather than "humiliating climb-downs". By taking us into their confidence, we might have more confidence in them. But we have a part in this: if we want ministers to be human, we must not punish them for shattering our illusions.

The battle for bottoms as nappy war breaks out

Kleenex will never be the same again. We Brits spend nearly £70 million a year on the brand to wipe our noses. Now it has emigrated to the nether regions. Last week, Kimberly-Clark, the American multinational that owns Kleenex, launched a new nappy, Kleenex Huggies. In doing so, it has sparked a multi-national, multi-billion dollar war for babies' bottoms across Europe.

Kimberly-Clark tested the water last year with its niche product, Huggies Pull-Ups, but the real target was always Pampers, the mega-brand owned by its rival American multinational, Procter & Gamble.

About one hundred nappies are changed every second in the UK. If Kimberly-Clark can achieve its target of making 30 or so of them Huggies nappies, the £100 million it has invested in a new factory in Barton-upon-Humber, and the £15 million set aside for marketing in the UK this year, will seem like small change.

But how is it going to end British mothers' love affair with Pampers? P&G has built its formidable market share using a well-tested formula of continuing innovation and blanket TV advertising. Now, Kimberly-Clark is trying to out-P&G P&G, claiming that Kleenex Huggies are better — "up to 50 per cent thinner and even more absorbent than ordinary nappies". As a special-

Huggies bid for Pampers' share of the market



On the attack: Meyer

ist paper products company, it has a research and development workforce of 600, faster innovation and a warmer style of advertising. "We introduced our ultra-thin nappy to the US in July 1992. P&G only recently introduced their products," comments James Meyer, Kimberly-Clark's European marketing director.

An £8 million ad campaign featuring only cute little babies is carefully de-

signed to make mums think that by using Kleenex Huggies they will make their babies happier. And the Kleenex brand name has been added because of its near universal awareness and because, says Mr Meyer, "the Kleenex message of soft tissue technology is very relevant to the approach of the new brand".

Meanwhile, a special "Huggies Childcare Panel" of doctors and educational psychologists has been set up to establish credibility in mothers' eyes and win support among influential healthcare professionals.

Despite Pampers' dominance, customer loyalty in nappies is weak, claims Mr Meyer. The 800,000 new babies born in the UK every year, "provide us with an opportunity".

Elsewhere, Kimberly-Clark has already seized such opportunities. Back in 1978, before it launched Huggies in the US, P&G's Pampers had a 70 per cent share. Now Huggies leads the market with a share of around 36 per cent. It has made similar advances in Canada. Now the simultaneous launch of Huggies in the UK, Ireland and The Netherlands has brought the battle to Europe.

As usual, P&G refuses to comment. But rest assured, it will retaliate with more innovations and even heavier marketing.

ALAN MITCHELL

Mature sales are in the can

What lies behind an advertising campaign? To the untrained eye, new television commercials produced for Diet Coke appearing on our screens tomorrow will seem pretty similar to all the others: pretty girls and boys, catchy tunes, exquisite film production and an intrusive end line. But for Coca-Cola, the campaign signals a major shift of direction — a once-in-a-decade change in strategy.

The "global" campaign (in fact, it is limited to English-speaking cultures) is produced by the Lowe Group, the new Coke agency from New York. It has taken a year to develop and the slogan "This is Refreshment" replaces "Taste It All". It is the first such change in ten years, and a sign as far as Coca-Cola is concerned that the brand has grown up.

"We are moving into the mainstream," says Maddie Hamill, group product manager for Diet Coke in the UK.

Stories for the four commercials range from a group of women office workers lecturing a construction worker gulping down his

Diet Coke targets the adult drinker



Once in a decade change

1130am Diet Coke, a "girl leaves town" tale, to boxers quenching their thirst.

Miss Hamill says: "Consumers have changed. In the 1980s they were very aspirational. Now people are more realistic. They want to make real choices." Because Diet Coke is drunk more by adults, she adds, its advertising differs from Coke's youth buyers.

The fact that Coke is using

a series of ads is also significant: it is fine-tuning its targeting. While the lead "office girl" ad is designed for both men and women, others, such as the boxing ad, clearly target men and will be carefully slotted in to appropriate programmes.

Sales of Coca-Cola across Europe reached \$5 billion last year, according to Nielsen, which monitors the market. Despite being the biggest consumer brand in Britain with sales of more than £400 million, it is still growing fast. Diet Coke sales jumped 8 per cent last year, with two million more UK consumers imbibing the one-calorie fluid, Miss Hamill says. Diet Coke sales are now second only to Coca-Cola. That is not only due to advertising. There is heavy merchandising, "a very aggressive sampling programme", and Diet Coke's sponsorship of ITV's movie premiere programme.

What next? In America, average consumption of Coke is 130 drinks a year. Here, it is about 80 a year. As far as Coke is concerned, there is plenty more fizz in this market yet.

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Marketing Writer

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Candidates must demonstrate exceptional writing ability; a keen sales awareness and knowledge of the entire creative process from briefing to print. Familiarity with DTP, a strong visual sense and the ability to work in a highly organised way to relentless timetables are essential requirements.

Knowledge of the wine industry and/or direct marketing is valuable but not essential. Substantial career experience will have led to 2-3 years working with a high quality product in a sales-led organisation. Candidates, who will probably be graduates, must demonstrate a mature approach and the ability to communicate with flair and precision.

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TELEVISION AND RADIO
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THE TIMES

WEDNESDAY FEBRUARY 9 1994



No surrender: Alan Jones, Westland chief executive, has told GKN that its offer is unwelcome and is urging shareholders to take no action

GKN fixes Westland in sights with £496m

By ROSS TIEMAN, INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

A £496 million takeover bid for Westland Group, Britain's only helicopter maker, was launched yesterday by GKN, the engineering services conglomerate.

GKN begins its assault with 47 per cent of the company's capital after agreeing to acquire a £75 million slab of ordinary and preference shares from United Technologies Corporation (UTC) to add to a holding already equal to more than 20 per cent of the total. However, the Westland board, led by Alan Jones, the chief executive, refused to surrender, declaring the offer "unwelcome" and advising shareholders to take no action. Westland shares ran ahead of the 250p a share bid, closing at 307p.

The GKN offer is bound to revive memories of the 1985 battle for control of Westland between Sir Alan Bristow, Fiat and UTC of America, owner of helicopter-maker Sikorsky, and a European consortium, backed by Michael Heseltine, the then Defence Secretary. The affair led to the resignation of Mr Heseltine and Leon Brittan, the Trade Secretary.

Any effort this time by the Westland board to find a rival white knight bidder will, however, find GKN's enlarged stake a serious obstacle. GKN is acquiring the UTC shares under a two-way pre-emption agreement with UTC dating from its purchase of the former Fiat stake in 1988. UTC is understood to have indicated its desire to sell in December, after concluding that its stake in Westland provided little real advantage in its drive to win European markets for Sikorsky products.

GKN, which builds the Warrior armoured vehicle for the British Army and for

export, is anxious to cash in on Westland's profit recovery. £1.4 billion order book, and the potential of the EH101, large helicopter developed in partnership with Agusta of Italy.

To pay for the acquisition, GKN is preparing a one-for-five rights issue at 480p to raise £248 million. The offer, enlarging GKN's capital by 16 per cent, will be payable in two phases. If the bid fails, only the first instalment, of 240p, will be payable, and the number of shares issued to each purchaser will be halved. GKN will also increase borrowings to fund the deal.

At the year end, GKN had £11 million of net cash, thanks in part to advance payments on sales of Desert Warrior vehicles to Kuwait. Sir David Lees, chairman, also announced that profits in 1993 are estimated to have slipped by £24.8 million to £97 million on turnover of about £3.5 billion. He blamed weakness in continental European car markets, where GKN is a leading supplier of transmission systems, as well as increased restructuring provisions, especially at the part-owned associate company United Engineering Steels.

Acquisition of more United Kingdom production facilities will, however, also help GKN reduce its UK tax liabilities. Thanks to the development of its vehicle transmissions, CheP pallets and drinks dispensing equipment activities during the past decade, the company now earns two-thirds of its revenues overseas, and is penalised by the impact of advanced corporation tax.

Looping the loop, page 27
Tempus, page 29

BUSINESS EDITOR
Robert Ballantyne

BUSINESS TODAY

SCREEN WAR

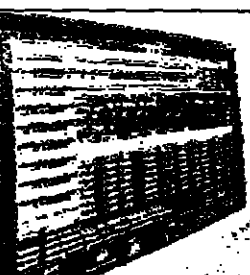


Granada turned up the volume in the independent television screen war by raising its bid for London Weekend Page 27, Tempus 29

BLANK SCREENS

Banks and building societies have wasted an opportunity to increase consumer protection Page 26

BLUE SCREENS



Shares in Reuters, the financial services and information group, leapt after a strong forecast Page 27, Tempus 29

WINDSCREENS

BMW is to invest £800 million in Rover to increase production and introduce new models Page 30

Tax policy 'rewards the rich'

THE Conservative Government's tax reforms since 1985, the start of its major tax-cutting programme in the 1980s, have rewarded the richest in society and penalised the bottom 40 per cent of the income scale, according to a new analysis by the independent Institute for Fiscal Studies (Janet Bush writes).

The study, which follows revelations in *The Times* last month that the average family will pay more of their income in direct taxes alone than they did under the last Labour Government, concentrates on the distributional effect of tax changes in the decade from 1985 to 1995.

The poorest 10 per cent of the population will have lost an average of £3 a week by the end of 1995, which includes the last two Conservative Budgets. In contrast, the richest 10 per cent will have gained over £30 per week on average.

Over the past decade, the biggest losers have been unemployed people with children, followed by single parents. In addition, families with children tend to be better off than those without, the IFS says.

Tory taxes, page 29

Low inflation allows base rate reduction

By JANET BUSH AND ROSE WILD

THE Government yesterday signalled a 0.25 per cent cut in interest rates in a move reflecting subdued inflationary pressure and growing concern that tax rises could derail the consumer recovery.

The leading high street banks followed the Government's lead with cuts in their base lending rates from 5.5 per cent to 5.25 per cent, but several leading mortgage lenders suggested that the rate cut was not big enough to trigger cuts in mortgage rates. The cut was decided by Kenneth Clarke, the Chancellor, and Eddie George, Governor of the Bank of England, last week, but the choice of yesterday was the Bank's alone, according to a recent change in custom. The Bank wants to link changes in interest rates closely to inflationary trends, rather than anything else, such as political considerations, and waited this latest cut to coincide with its latest quarterly inflation report, published yesterday.

The timing also sent a useful signal to jittery financial markets that British monetary policy remains independent of

■ The quarter-point rate cut is too small to bring about a fall in mortgage costs but reflects concern that tax increases could derail the nascent consumer recovery

events overseas and that, although the US Federal Reserve, may have signalled that rates are moving higher, this is not the case in Britain. The FT-SE 100 index, which plunged by nearly 60 points on Monday after the Fed said that it was tightening monetary policy, yesterday regained some of its poise, closing about 21 points higher. However, there was considerable scepticism about economic benefits of such a small cut.

Yesterday's quarter-point cut — the first cut since 1985 to be so small — seems to be a compromise between Mr Clarke and Mr George who, it is believed, was reluctant to sanction a half-point cut.

The authorities believe that the smaller cut strikes a balance between fears that the economy will slow down in the face of tax increases in April and fears that inflationary pressures may start to grow with recovery. Mr Clarke said that, with interest rates and

inflation historically low, it was right to reduce the size of interest rate changes. He said: "The reduction of 0.25 per cent continues the Government's approach to monetary policy and its commitment to low inflation."

There were two main reasons underlying the decision. Firstly, inflation over the last three months has been much lower than expected and inflationary expectations have improved. The Bank now expects underlying inflation to stay at about 3 per cent, against a target of 1 per cent to 4 per cent, at least until the end of 1995. RPIY — the measure of inflation preferred by the Bank and which omits mortgages and taxation — should stabilise at about 2.5 per cent.

The rate cut also reflected growing concern about how consumer confidence is standing up to the prospect of tax hitting pay packets and household expenses from April. The authorities made clear on

November 23, the last time base rates were cut, just before the Budget, that that cut fully reflected the fiscal tightening to come. Since then, however, greater public awareness of the extent of tax rises to come has heightened worries about loss of confidence.

Building societies said that they are looking for another quarter point off base rates before they cut mortgage rates. Mike Blackburn, chief executive of the Halifax Building Society, said: "This looks like a technical adjustment and is not, at present, sufficient to cause us to rethink our mortgage or savings rates."

Not having the building societies' funding problems, some banks are likelier to make an opportunistic response. The Royal Bank of Scotland and National Westminster said that their mortgage rates were "being reviewed" yesterday, and the TSB that they were standing by for changes.

John Lewis, the department store group, responded to yesterday's cut by reducing the APR on its store card by 1.5 points, only the fifth cut by John Lewis since 1979.

Pennington, page 27
Stock market, page 28

Mercury copies BT by ringing the changes

By OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

MERCURY Communications matched British Telecom by abolishing morning peak rate charges yesterday as BT unveiled the long-awaited final leg of its 1993-94 price cuts.

The alacrity of Mercury's response was greeted as evidence that competition is finally providing benefits for consumers. The main downward pressure on telephone charges, however, remains the tough price control regime imposed by OfTel, the telecommunications regulator.

Business users continue to be the

principal beneficiaries of BT's price formula, which requires the company to adjust overall charges by inflation minus 7.5 per cent. Don Cruickshank, the head of OfTel, estimated that changes announced this year have cut the typical household bill by 2.9 per cent. BT said that the average domestic user would receive a 2.81 per cent cut, while the average business bill would fall by 6.41 per cent.

The bias towards business users appears to reflect BT's need to meet Mercury's challenge in the most profitable sector of activity. Liberalisation has eroded BT's ability

to cross-subsidise household customers with profits from household accounts. But the price cuts forced by regulators have also demonstrated that telephone users do respond to costs being reduced by making more calls when they can see how the cost structure works.

The introduction by BT, Britain's dominant phone group, of a special cheap weekend rate of 10p for a three-minute call anywhere in the country, which took effect in December, prompted a sudden increase in telephone use. BT hopes the latest cut will encourage householders to make

more calls during weekday mornings, when many people are discouraged by the current high cost.

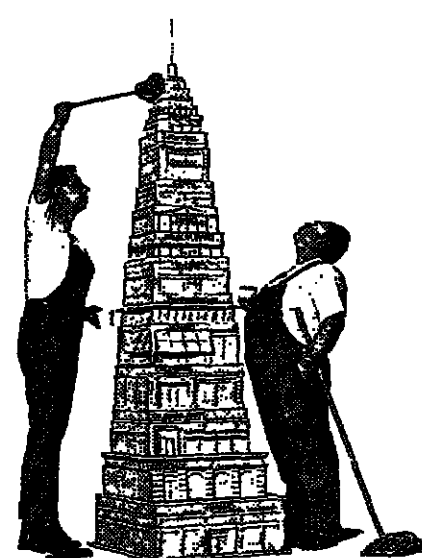
The abolition of peak rates, to take effect on March 9, completes the £500 million package of price cuts that BT is obliged to make this year. However, a new round of price cutting is expected to begin in the summer, as BT responds to OfTel's demands for price reductions to be delivered earlier in the year.

How the cuts work, page 4
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Vodafone purchase, page 27

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P&O orders two new liners in \$680m deal

By PHILIP PANGLOSS

THE Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, the shipping to construction company, is to expand its cruise liner fleet after placing orders for two superliners for Princess Cruises, P&O's North American subsidiary, in a deal worth \$680 million.

The two new cruise liners will be built for P&O by the Fincantieri yard in Italy and will cost \$295 million and \$385 million respectively. The ships will have passenger capacities of 1,950 and 2,500.

The first of the two ships, a sister ship to P&O's 77,000 ton *Sun Princess*, is due to be delivered by Fincantieri in January 1996, while the second, in the range of 90,000 tons, will be the group's largest cruise vessel and will be dedicated to the Caribbean market.

The ships are expected to be ready for cruises operated by Princess Cruises in 1997. Lord Sterling of Plaistow, P&O's chairman, said: "The P&O Cruise division is one of the fastest growing and most consistent profit earners and cash generators in the P&O Group."

"These new superliners, together with the 67,000 ton *Oriana* under construction for the European market, will enable us to take full advantage of our leadership position in this major growth industry by expanding and upgrading our fleet."

Dan White, transport analyst at NatWest Securities, said: "Cruise shipping is a growth market and it's all about the big getting bigger, with market share concentrated in the hands of relatively few players. New ships in themselves attract good carrying as passengers tend to switch from old ships to new ones. You can expect these ships to do well. We regard it [the proposed deal] as positive."

P&O shares added 6p to 711p.



Chris Lendrum, left, Sir Nicholas Goodison, BBA president, Richard Tyson Davies of Apacs and Adrian Coles of the BSA

OFT condemns revisions to banks' code of practice

By PATRICIA TEHAN
BANKING CORRESPONDENT

BRITISH banks and building societies have wasted an opportunity to increase consumer protection and failed to tackle the issue of customer confidentiality, Sir Bryan Carsberg, Director-General of Fair Trading, said yesterday. He condemned the revisions to the code of practice for banks and building societies as showing an unwillingness to give "best advice" on mortgages and loans to customers. The banks and building societies will also come into conflict with Eric Howe, the data protection registrar, who wants them to stop "host mailing", where they post sales literature from branches

■ Banks and building societies will have to give greater confidentiality to customers from March 28, but have until the end of 1996 to introduce pre-notification of charges

on behalf of third parties without customer consent. Mr Howe considers that such practices breach the Data Protection Act. Lord Inchyra, director general of the British Bankers' Association, said the banks disagree and are "in negotiation" with the registrar to sort out the dispute.

The revised code applies to 289 banks and building societies and starts on March 28.

Main changes include a commitment to give customers 14 days' notice before charges

are deducted from their accounts. Subscribers to the code must do so by the end of 1996.

Express written consent must be given before information about customers can be passed to subsidiary companies for marketing purposes, except in response to a specific request. Such consent may not be a condition of obtaining a specific service.

The banking practice of passing on "black information", where loan repayments are in arrears, to credit

reference agencies is codified. Consent will be required before "white information", where a loan is repaid, is passed on.

Banks and building societies are obliged to ensure that staff and customers are aware of complaints procedures.

They are required to make information about the rates on interest-bearing accounts freely available to customers.

Chris Lendrum, deputy managing director of Barclays banking division and chairman of the joint BBA, Building Societies' Association and Association for Payment Clearing Services (Apacs) working party on the code, said pre-notification of charges means a complex systems change and is expensive. But Sir Bryan questioned why the pre-notification arrangements cannot be in place before the end of 1996.

His comments are a blow to the banks and societies, which had hoped the revisions would go most of the way towards addressing complaints about the first edition of the code.

Chatset sides with Lloyd's on settlement

By SARAH BAGNALL
INSURANCE CORRESPONDENT

CHATSET, one of Lloyd's most vocal critics, has sided with Lloyd's of London in advising names to accept the \$900 million settlement offer, due to close on Monday.

The move came as Chatset, the independent Lloyd's analyst, upped its estimate of losses for 1991, due to be announced in May, from at least £1 billion to £2.05 billion and predicted cash calls for a similar sum. The analyst, which has a proven track record of forecasting the insurance market's results, also destroyed hopes of a return to profit in 1992. Currently, Chatset expects 1992 to show a pure year loss of £200 million, which could climb to £1 billion if old-year losses continue to feed through.

In spite of the spectre of future losses, Charles Sturge and John Rew, Chatset's co-editors, are urging names to accept the Lloyd's settlement offer, warning them that "Lloyd's must feel confident that it can go forward and dissident names are likely to be cast aside".

They said: "There would be winners and losers from rejection of the offer. We believe there would be far more losers than winners. Our advice would be to take what is on offer and be grateful for small mercies."

Chatset is forecasting that the pure year result for 1991 will be a loss of £990 million, pushed up to £1.2 billion by lower investment income and higher syndicate expenses. This loss is compounded further by the analysts' predictions that old-year losses will deteriorate further to the tune of £850 million.

Mr Sturge said in contrast to 1990's record £2.915 billion loss and 1989's loss of £2.1 billion, which were concentrated on a few syndicates, the 1991 loss will be more evenly spread. Names on 229 syndicates will suffer combined losses of £1.3 billion in 1991, he said.

Gooda Walker names fended off attempts to delay an April court date. The commercial court refused an application for adjournment from Elbourne Mitchell, lawyer for the members' agents, who are being sued for £553 million of losses.

MGN reserves right to raise Independent bid

MIRROR Group Newspapers has left open the possibility of an increase in its consortium takeover bid for *The Independent* newspaper group. MGN yesterday said that it reserves the right to raise its offer and that it has told the Takeover Panel that it has chosen not to be bound by previous statements to the contrary.

On Friday, Mirror Group Newspapers offered to take a 39.8 per cent stake in Newspaper Publishing, owner of *The Independent* and its *Independent on Sunday* sister title. It offered institutional shareholders 250p per share in cash, with an all-share alternative worth 261.6p. However, within hours of the offer, it emerged that Ireland's Independent Newspapers, headed by Tony O'Reilly, the multi-millionaire Heinz food empire chief, had bought a 24.99 per cent stake in Newspaper Publishing at 350p a share for a total of £18.4 million. At present, MGN has no stake in Newspaper Publishing, although the Spanish and Italian members of its consortium together hold 37 per cent of the company. The founders of Newspaper Publishing, including Andreas Whittam Smith, the editor-in-chief, own 10 per cent and back the consortium approach.

Works councils renamed

THE European Commission has agreed to water down plans for mandatory worker participation in companies, in a bid to win the support of employers across the Community. The move, which renames "works councils" as "mechanisms for informing and consulting employees", aims to push employers into voluntary agreements with their workers without the need for legislation. Although the UK has opted out of any Brussels social policy, EC officials believe that about 300 British companies will still be affected by the plans.

Britannia jobs axed

BRITANNIA Building Society will close 24 of its 225 branches in the next six weeks, with job losses estimated at 104. The announcement came less than a week after it published a rise in pre-tax profits of 32 per cent in 1993 to £80.8 million. A spokesman said customers were visiting branches less often, and making more use of postal savings accounts and cash machines. Britannia's move was a response to customer need for more flexibility. Britannia said it would increase its sales force this year from 55 to 115.

NatWest changes

NATIONAL Westminster Bank has reshuffled its senior management team, promoting John Melbourn, its chief executive of group risk, to the post of deputy chief executive. Mr Melbourn's name had been put forward as a possible candidate for the Barclays chief executive job and he had been a contender for the NatWest chief executive's job in 1992, before it was given to Derek Wanless. He will work alongside Bert Morris, deputy chief executive, until Mr Morris retires at the end of October.

European fund for 3i

INVESTMENT group 3i is raising an £800m (£225 million) fund in partnership with financial institutions for equity investment in private companies in Europe. This is the first time 3i has raised a fund from external investors since it was established in 1945. Ewen Macpherson, 3i's chief executive, said the firm thought the opportunities were so large that it could not necessarily take advantage of them by itself. The investors include UK pension funds and international investing institutions. 3i will put in a third of the total.

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BASE RATE

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from 5.50% to 5.25%

BANK OF SCOTLAND BASE RATE

Bank of Scotland announces that with effect from Tuesday 8th February 1994 its Base Rate has been decreased from 5.50% per annum to

□ Governor takes quarter, not half, measures □ Forte bows to Sheraton □ Feeling sorry for BT

Yes, it's back to base rates

THANK GOODNESS interest rate cuts are not timed for political convenience any more. As the Governor explained yesterday, the decision to dock a quarter-point off base rates was taken days before the Federal Reserve Board's equal but opposite move on Friday. Nor was it triggered by the consequent fall-out in financial markets. Why not, you may ask? Persuading the markets that British interest rates could still fall looks the best reason for such an otherwise insignificant gesture.

Had the cut been aimed at reassuring markets, it could hardly have been more successful. Oddly, the message from the City a week or two ago was that stock and bond prices were fully discounting a half-point cut. But when only a quarter of a point was delivered, dealers yelped with surprise and got out their blue pencils. In the meantime, it seems, markets had stopped discounting any cut at all, the economy was going so well. Communication is vital and on that test, rarely can two tiny adjustments in the cost of money have been more effective. But sadly, it seems, the Bank's success, unlike the Fed's, was purely accidental. Once City dealers realised this, they lost interest.

Rather, yesterday's move sprang from a dour compromise between the Chancellor and the

Governor. It must have been a fascinating debate. They should not take half measures, but they could take quarter measures. On the one hand, the inflation outlook had definitely improved since the last rate cut in November, thanks to food wars and sagging house prices. On the other hand, rising pay settlements could be a problem, so the cut reflected only a tiny reduction in the balance of risks. On the one hand, the Governor noted at the time, the pre-Budget cut had allowed fully for the impact of the Chancellor's tax rises on the pace of recovery. On the other hand, it had not allowed for the public finding out that they would be worse off as a result, so the impact might have been underestimated after all.

This back to base rates campaign is certainly stirring stuff. Future movements, it seems, may well be in such penny packets. That is the right way if the Bank is merely trying to adjust monetary conditions to the state of the economy, rather than to use interest rates as a policy lever. In any case, when base rates can almost be counted

on the fingers of one hand, further cuts have pretty modest effects on people's economic behaviour. Few company boards press the button on new investment, few somnolent potential homebuyers are stirred to action.

Stepping back, it seems clear that British interest rates should be below America's if monetary policy is adjusting to the state of the economy. Recovery is 18 months behind America's and inflation lower. That may as well reflect American rates being too low as Britain's being too high — more likely a bit of both. Since policy remains cautious, however, that may be academic.

Ciga not at any price

IT IS said, within the confines of Forte's Holborn HQ, that it took chairman Rocco Forte a matter of seconds, rather than minutes, to choose to remain the underbidder in the auction for Ciga, the Aga Khan's soft pile hotel chain with high pile debt.

To say that Rocco and his new found partner, George Soros,



perceive Sheraton's £375 million overture as rich, would verge on the understatement. The Forte/Soros camp, widely rumoured to have been prepared to pay upwards of £300 million for Ciga, actually put in a final offer of £270 million: terms dwarfed by the knock-out blow from Sheraton, courtesy of its deep-pocketed parent ITT Corporation.

Start with £375 million, pencil in £25 million to assuage Ciga's creditors, £20 million in respect of short-term refurbishment and £10 million in terms of working capital, and Sheraton's Italian venture tottles up to a potential £430 million, going on £450 million if one debates the medium-term agenda.

A better deal than Ciga, or Me-

diobanca, the Milanese auctioneer, might have hoped for — particularly as Sheraton, with Hyatt, was believed to have looked at Ciga and retreated last year. That left the field open to Maryland-based Host Marriott, a consortium embracing Inter-Continental Hotels and Forte; barring an off-the-wall offer from the likes of Colony Capital, a Los Angeles-based investment enterprise or the Sultan of Brunei.

The bringing together of Forte's marketing skills with Ciga's flagships, such as the Daniell in Venice, was originally perceived as a "dream ticket" by City analysts but the rude awakening delivered by ITT left Forte's share price a mere 3p off at 252p.

Not that Rocco Forte's decision not to raise the ante will do his reputation as a deal-maker any harm. Terms of the Alpha Airport flotation value the Gardner Merchant catering operation (including the contract catering MBO and the 25 per cent stake retained by Forte) at more than £700 million — some £200 million more than Compass was willing to pay. Last November's sale of Forte's 50 per cent stake in

Kentucky Fried Chicken (GB) brought in £40 million. The Alpha float is worth £180 million net, the end-game at Gardner Merchant should herald another £100 million and, taking into account a tidying up of miscellaneous UK properties, divestments of £300 million effectively underwrite Forte's promise to reduce gearing by £500 million come 1996.

Meanwhile, perhaps ITT could lend a helping hand at Euro Disney.

Price cuts can hurt competition

BT'S PRICE cuts on weekend calls scored good publicity by helping residential customers. In the event, they have also brought a lot of new business, proving that, in this market, call volume is price sensitive. The much bigger cost of axing peak rate premiums also has a stronger, perfectly legitimate commercial purpose: dishing the competition. There is unlikely to be such a net gain on volume or market share, since Mercury

was well prepared to respond immediately. Peak calls are weighted to the businesses sector and Mercury will earn no direct net gains on interconnection charges. So this will be costly. Indeed, as Ofel forces continuing real price cuts of 7.5 per cent a year, it will put as much pressure on competitors as on BT. Mercury has already attacked the residential market largely to protect its back.

This is all splendid for consumers but there is something not quite right here. Now that telecoms are genuinely competitive, the market should be driving prices. Yet regulation is playing a bigger role than before, pushing prices down more steeply than even a strongly competitive market would do. BT's current price regime formula is harsher than intended because it was drawn up when inflation was much higher than now, and expected to stay higher. So far, that has not stopped competition intensifying. It could in a couple of years time.

The industry's logical response is to push new value-added services. Yet BT is prevented from developing some of these by regulation. And if competitors are hurt by price pressure, the regulator will surely be tempted to distort the market even further by tying BT's hands yet more firmly behind its back.

LWT rejects Granada's final bid after talks fail

By MARTIN WALLER
DEPUTY CITY EDITOR

LWT (Holdings), the London weekend television contractor, has rejected final takeover terms from Granada Group that value it at £774 million.

The bid, delayed by the intervention of the Office of Fair Trading, must now close in less than three weeks' time, at the latest.

Gerry Robinson, Granada's chief executive, said that talks on Monday night had failed to reach agreement, and that the two sides were then so far apart that his company had had to launch a further hostile bid direct to shareholders.

Granada's first all-share offer was launched early in

After late-night talks between the two companies failed to secure a deal, Granada has increased its bid for LWT and urged shareholders to ignore their board and accept

December at £595 million and was immediately rejected. Since then, the stock market's rise has sent its value soaring.

The catering and leisure group is now offering a package of 13 new shares and 100p in cash, this last to make up for the final dividend announced during the bid by LWT for 1993, in return for 10 LWT shares. There is a 68p cash alternative, up from an original all-cash offer of 528p.

As Granada's shares slip-

ped 2p, to 568p, yesterday, its package was worth 748p a share. LWT shares rose to meet the better offer, but fell short of its full value, gaining 35p to 737p.

Mr Robinson said: "We are obviously disappointed that, having evidently accepted the commercial arguments in favour of scale, the board of LWT has not been able to recommend what is, by any standards, a generous offer."

He said that while LWT

shares had doubled in value since Granada took a 17.5 per cent stake in June, much of this was because of the takeover battle, and defeat for the bid would see them slide back.

Monday's meeting with LWT's Sir Christopher Bland had been friendly, Mr Robinson said, but "he wanted a price that was way beyond anything we would be prepared to pay".

Alex Bernstein, Granada's chairman, who was also at the meeting, along with Greg Dyke, LWT's chief executive, said that the gap was so big "there was no negotiating space".

Sir Christopher said that the revised offer "is inadequate and still fails to reflect the true value of LWT". He dismissed the failure of his company's shares to match the terms on offer. "The market first of all needs time to settle down," he said. "In the end, it will be for the shareholders to decide."

Sir Christopher said that, on calculations done by LWT and taking into account estimated earnings for 1994, which he could not reveal, the company had suggested a takeover figure to Granada at Monday's meeting "well north of £8".

He added: "The moment we said that, they said: 'We're too far apart — we can't negotiate'. We're pretty confident we will see them off."

Mr Robinson said that the four main planks to LWT's defence had disappeared. They were possible interference from monopolies authorities, now resolved, a putative alliance with Yorkshire, now frustrated by events, arguments about continuing independence and hope of a possible "white knight" or partner that had failed to emerge. "All other options and obstacles are now out of the way," he said. "It's very, very hard to argue that this doesn't offer a generous value by any standard for LWT shareholders."

Granada says that even the higher terms would not dilute its earnings per share in the next full financial year, to end-September 1995.

"LWT shareholders should ask themselves that the future would hold for LWT as a comparatively small television company with limited resources and what the implications are for the value of their investment should Granada's bid fail," Mr Robinson said.

Buyout bid for part of Ferranti

MANAGERS at one of Ferranti International's plants are mounting a buyout bid from the group's administrative receivers. The proposal is being put together by executives at Cairo Mill, Oldham, Greater Manchester, which makes electronic components for military and civilian use and employs a workforce of about 450.

The move was welcomed by the joint receivers from Arthur Andersen, the accountant, James Gleave, an Arthur Andersen partner, said Cairo Mill has attracted interest from potential buyers in Britain and overseas.

He added: "We will be working with these potential purchasers and the management buyout team as they evaluate the business and develop their strategies for the plant's long-term future."

Vodafone buys stake in Talkland for £29.2m

By MARTIN FLANAGAN

VODAFONE, Britain's biggest mobile telephone network operator, is paying £29.2 million for a one-third stake in Talkland, a company which sells its services.

It is buying the shares in General Mobile Communications, parent company of Talkland, from Compagnie Generale des Eaux, the French industrial group. The purchase price is being met by the issue of Vodafone shares. Talkland has more than 210,000 subscribers, selling mobile phones to business customers and through its own dealer network.

Vodafone is also lending £29 million to GMC to invest in Talkland, which will continue as an independent company, with existing management in place. Gerry Whent, Vodafone's chief executive, said: "Service provision is one of the



Whent: share deal

cornerstones of the UK mobile telephone industry and Talkland is one of the key players."

Michel Villaneau, senior vice-president of CGE, said the tie-up with Vodafone, based in Newbury, Berkshire, would enable Talkland to expand "with even greater vigour in the rapidly-evolving

field of mobile telephony". As part of the transaction, Vodafone will have representation on the boards of both GMC and Talkland.

The net liabilities of GMC at December 31, 1992, excluding intangible assets and the value of the subscriber base, was £60.1 million. GMC's pre-tax losses for the year were £2.6 million, although it is expected to have been in the black in 1993 before exceptional items and prior year adjustments. Vodafone shares rose 8p to 616p on the deal.

Vodafone revealed last week that its mobile phone sales grew strongly in January, with an extra 27,500 net subscribers. The company, which has more than one million subscribers, said that they were the best January figures since the network was launched in 1985.

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Rising Reuters splits shares



Peter Job, chief executive of Reuters, is predicting double-digit revenue growth

SHARES in Reuters, the financial services to media group, leapt 87p to 1,908p when it unveiled higher full-year profits, a forecast of double-digit revenue growth in 1994, and a long-awaited share split (Martin Flanagan writes).

Peter Job, chief executive, was optimistic on prospects after a 23 per cent increase in the total dividend to 26p (21.2p), via a 19.8p final. He said: "Conditions were good, not only in our most developed markets, such as the US and the UK, but also in emerging markets like China, Latin America and east Europe."

Pre-tax profits rose 15 per cent, to £440 million (£383

million), in 1993, with revenues up 20 per cent, to £1.87 billion (£1.57 billion).

Mr Job said that Reuters planned to freeze prices this year for the third year running. "We believe we have a sound basis for achieving double-digit revenue growth this year without reliance on price increases," he said.

European, Middle East and African operations continued to contribute the lion's share of profits, up by an aggregate 6 per cent, to £353 million, although Reuters America was the star in growth terms, with profits tripling to £37 million (£12 million). Mr Job said that it was a particularly good year for established

transaction products, such as equity trading on Instinet, which nearly trebled profits, to £38 million.

Reuters is splitting its shares into four to improve trading liquidity. Earnings per share rose to 72p, from 61.8p. Capital expenditure rose 35 per cent, to £268 million in 1993, and Rob Rowley, finance director, said that there was considerable scope to boost this further this year.

After the results announcement, brokers were understood to be forecasting profits of between £510 million and £520 million for the current year.

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How Westland rose above defence cuts

History loops the loop for Heseltine

By ROSS TIERMAN
INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

LAST TIME a European bid for Westland Group ran into trouble, Michael Heseltine, a fervent supporter of the European solution, quit the Cabinet in protest. Now it appears that, as President of the Board of Trade, Mr Heseltine may have the satisfaction of being asked to approve a complete takeover of the West Country helicopter maker by a British concern, GKN.

Westland has not only survived the lean years of defence cuts, but thrived. Although production at the Yeovil helicopter company has been at a low ebb, the company has cut costs and cashed in on the considerable appetite of the 1,023 Westland helicopters worldwide for spares to keep them in the air. Alan Jones, the chief executive installed by

GKN to assist the company's recovery, has also developed substantial sidelines manufacturing components for other plane makers. The result: Westland achieved pre-tax profits of £30.5 million last year, on sales of £450 million — a profit margin considerably more attractive than that realised by its would-be purchaser, GKN.

Westland has also developed a new and promising helicopter, the EH101, in partnership with Agusta of Italy. With a Royal Navy order for anti-submarine machines under its belt, Westland expects substantial sales of the troop carrying version to the Army, and claims the machine has strong civil potential. City analysts believe a contract from the MoD for 18 to 24 EH101s is imminent. Westland is also bidding to supply the Apache helicopter, designed by McDonnell Douglas of America, to meet the £2

billion plus MoD requirement for 80 to 90 attack helicopters.

With strong orders likely for EH101, and a steady workload servicing Sea King, Lynx, and other machines in service, GKN may see the attack aircraft as icing on the cake. However, the MoD purchase decision, due towards the middle of next year, will be crucial to the long-term prospects of Westland ranked number seven in helicopters worldwide in an industry facing strong forces for concentration.

In an environment where competition is increasing, Westland may well benefit from having a larger partner, especially one with civil interests able to assist in offering offset manufacturing and purchasing deals to foreign governments. But GKN is not home and dry. Other companies may relish Westland's potential.

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Winners and losers in the Tories' tax reforms

Janet Bush says that a report by the Institute for Fiscal Studies proves the Tories' tax policy has made the rich richer and the poor poorer

Progressive and regressive are not words that set the world alight, but their meaning is really quite dramatic in the context of the Conservative Government's tax reforms. Make the assumption that a tax system should be weighted so that the poorer members of society pay proportionately less and the rich proportionately more and what these words actually mean is "fair" and "unfair".

The importance of the contribution to the tax debate yesterday by the politically independent Institute for Fiscal Studies is that it proves that the Conservatives' tax policy has made the rich richer and the poor poorer. This is what many of us had rather assumed, but here it is in black and white, another unmistakable embarrassment for the Government.

Those who have done the worst under Tory management of the economy are unemployed people with children, although the IFS is swift to point out that the Lamont and Clarke Budgets of 1993 mean that virtually everybody will be worse off, with middle-class voters the biggest losers.

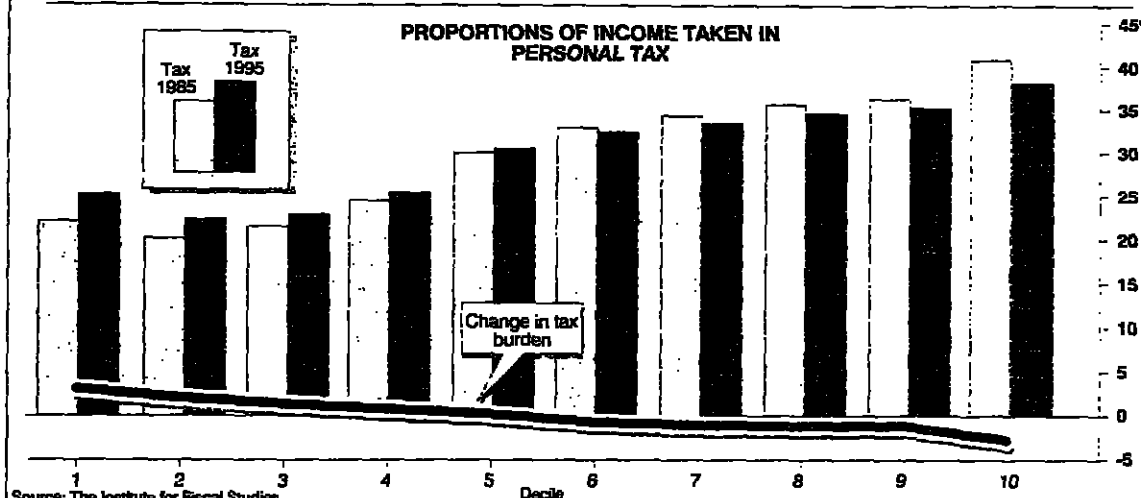
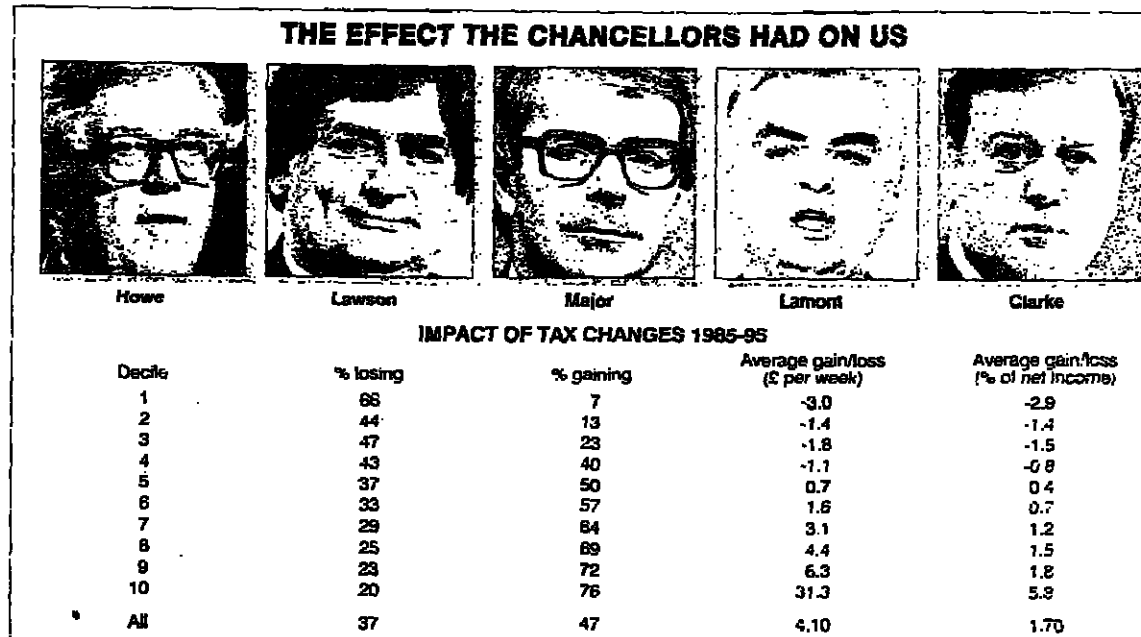
Chris Giles, co-author with Paul Johnson, sums up one key finding of the report. "Cutting income tax rates and shifting the burden on to other taxes, especially indirect taxes, increases the gap between those on high and low incomes. This makes the UK tax system much less progressive." That means much less fair.

High income households gained substantially from reductions in income tax rates that outweighed increases in indirect taxes. In contrast, poorer households gained little or nothing from cuts in headline rates and will be hit proportionately harder by the imposition, for example, of VAT on fuel. Worst hit have been unemployed couples with children, more than three quarters of whom are worse off, followed by single parent families, nearly two thirds of whom are worse off.

It is a sobering thought for observers of the more abandoned rhetoric of the Conservative right wing that it has often been those groups of society that have been least well served by economic policy that are now being targeted for criticism and, in some cases, punitive treatment. The IFS also finds that those earners who have children are much more likely to have lost out than those who do not have children, an important finding in the context of Conservative claims to be the party that promotes family values.

The IFS — almost exclusively — has the technical know-how and tax database to give a truly accurate picture of how changes in tax policy affect the different strata of society. The institute is able to break down the effects on different types of household and on different income levels and includes both direct and indirect taxes.

One big disappointment with the report is that the institute has chosen only to survey tax changes between 1985 and 1995. Part of the reason cited for this is that this constitutes a neat ten-year comparison. Another rationale is that it was in 1986 that the major Conservative tax-cutting programme



began. But there were extremely significant tax changes before 1985 from the Conservative Budget in 1979. In that year, British taxpayers were offered a mixed bag, with cuts in the basic and top rates of tax offset by a very large rise in VAT when the two-tier rates of 8 per cent and 12.5 per cent were replaced with a single 15 per cent rate. The next year saw National Insurance rates raised and the reduced 25 per cent rate band abolished.

In the famously harsh Budget of 1981, employees' National Insurance rates went up again and personal allowances were frozen in cash terms, the largest single-year tax rise in Britain's post-war history. National Insurance contributions were raised again in 1982 and 1983, but this action was offset by a resumed rise in personal allowances in real terms. The 1984 and 1985 Budgets were roughly neutral, and then the tax-cutting bonanza of the late 1980s began.

The IFS says it has not worked out whether tax policy in the early 1980s left the bulk of the population better or worse off, but privately acknowledges that the net effect on taxpayers, except for the rich, was probably negative.

This would certainly back up the findings of the survey by *The Times* in this space on January 13, which took the whole period of Tory Government from 1979 to 1995. *The Times* found that the average family will pay far more in direct taxes — income tax and National

Insurance — once the full effects of the Lamont and Clarke Budgets come into effect — than they would have done under the last Labour Government in 1978-79. Even a wealthy family with earnings four times the national average — or £78,000 — will give up more of its income to the tax man than it would have done under the last year of Labour.

After more than a week of pressure from the Labour Party, the Treasury was forced to release figures broadly confirming *The Times* analysis. Although the Government gamely argued that it did not matter that most households were paying a higher proportion of their income in tax because they had seen thumping increases in their earnings under Conservative stewardship, it remains an incontrovertible fact that the

tax take as a proportion of the whole economy will rise to 38.5 per cent in the fiscal year 1998-99, more than in any year of Labour Government.

The methodology of the IFS analysis is to take important tax rates and levels as they were in 1985 and as they will be in 1995. Figures are in real 1993 prices and all 1985 values have been updated by inflation between December 1985 and September 1993. In other words, it applies both the 1985 and 1995 tax regime to the same population.

The IFS shows that the overall effect has been to reduce the direct burden of taxes on the personal sector by about

£5.2 billion annually at current prices. This implies an average gain to households of about £4 a week. However, Mr Giles said that this was not a particularly meaningful figure (based on a fairly crude calculation) and was not one that the IFS wanted attention concentrated on.

What the institute is at pains to emphasise is the extremely uneven way tax changes have affected people. The top table shows that, even in the 1985-95 period, the bottom 40 per cent of the population are worse off, with the middle classes marginally better off, and the very richest seeing a huge 5.8 per cent gain as a percentage of their income. The bottom table confirms this pattern, with the downward slope of the black line describing a regressive tax system.

A true picture of the increasing inequality of the British economy must include this analysis, but also a picture of what has happened with earnings. Since 1979, the poorest fifth of the population have seen their real incomes decline by 3 per cent while the real incomes of the top fifth have risen by up to 50 per cent. The poorer in Britain have faced a double whammy: proportionately small increases in their wages and proportionately higher taxes.

Kenneth Clarke has had to admit that the vast bulk of British people face a higher tax burden now than they did under Denis Healey, the last Labour Chancellor. Now he will have to acknowledge that his party has rewarded the rich and penalised the poor. The emperor is running out of clothes.

Here it is in black and white, another unmistakable embarrassment for the Conservative Government

TEMPUS Tax-driven helicopter ride

TRY as it might, GKN's arguments about the industrial logic of yesterday's bid for Westland rang hollow. All the airy talk about fast-response weapon platforms could not disguise the fact that armoured cars and aerospace are fundamentally different businesses. If there were any joint marketing opportunities, GKN should have exploited them when it first bought a stake in 1988.

GKN would have been more credible if it admitted that Westland is just another portfolio investment. After all, there is no logic that links its other businesses, such as pallet hire and automotive components. And Westland is an attractive investment. It will enable GKN to use £130 million in unrelieved advance corporation tax while the build-up of EH101 deliveries from 1996 should repay GKN's investment before the decade ends.

Nor is GKN overpaying. While Westland and its shareholders are understandably annoyed that the bid is pitched 20p below the market price, they can hardly complain now

that GKN has 48 per cent of the diluted equity. Besides, the offer of a potential share in the £385 million claim against the Arab Organisation for Industrialisation to shareholders who accept is a smart piece of arm-twisting.

But it is disquieting to see GKN spending £366 million of shareholders' money for such relatively short-term gains. The expansion of the defence division will put more strain on GKN's balance sheet, particularly if the group has to bear the development costs of the Apache. With gearing of only 2 per cent, and the proceeds of the £248 million rights issue to come, that balance sheet currently looks sound, but the assets include more than £100 million in pre-payments from the Kuwaiti order for Warriors. GKN would do well to accelerate its disposal of non-core engineering and service businesses, such as scaffolding, to strengthen its asset base further. It may never be as tightly squeezed as British Aerospace, but it does not own a Rover that it can sell to escape from a tight spot either.

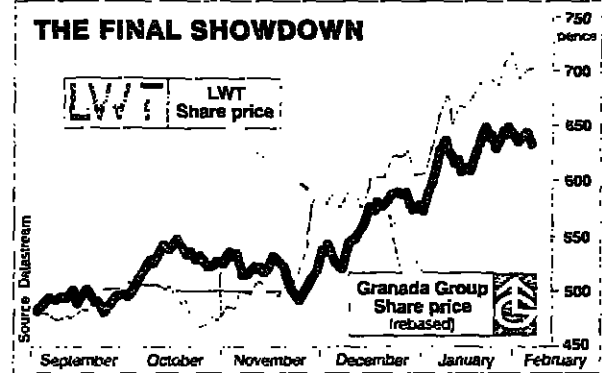
Granada

GRANADA's final assault on LWT looks pretty much like a knock-out, on the back of scant and dubious evidence by implication. Granada's final bid should have been nearer to £9 a share.

One is sorely tempted to break their calculators and knock their heads together — all this is sheer casuistry, even by the standards of stock exchange takeover bids. LWT's calculations are

available. LWT insists that TV companies should change hands for at least 30 times earnings, on the back of scant and dubious evidence by implication. Granada's final bid should have been nearer to £9 a share.

One is sorely tempted to break their calculators and knock their heads together — all this is sheer casuistry, even by the standards of stock exchange takeover bids. LWT's calculations are



Reuters

WHILE astronomic sums are being offered for other small screen companies like LWT, Reuters is turning in a more entertaining financial performance than any of them. The group has used the bull market and the economic recovery in America to full advantage, and although operating margins did not improve last year, the group can afford it when underlying revenue rose 8 per cent.

The most heartening aspect of last year's figures was the operating profit growth in Reuters' newer operations, particularly the 193 per cent gain at Infonet, the equities trading service. This is what has encouraged it to go on an acquisitions offensive recently, with its purchases of Quotron and Teknekron. While the latter looked ex-

pensive, the group's powerful cash generation gives it scope for a few foibles.

That generation will slow in the current year, since Reuters is stepping up its development and marketing. Last year's acquisitions of VAMP Health, an on-line medical information service, and a stake in Ad-Value Media technologies, an advertising database, show that the group is also keen to exploit the wider applications of on-line information supply. The growth potential in this area is enormous since almost every trade has some need for real-time information facilities.

Underlying revenue growth should pass 10 per cent this year, and acquisitions make a first-time contribution, so group profits should easily pass £500 million. The shares may look more palatable at less than 500p after the four-

way share split, rather than the current £20, but it does not alter the fact that they are trading on 23 times current year earnings forecasts. That price reflects the group's growth prospects.

Vodafone

THE manoeuvres in the cellular phone market become more fascinating every month. Vodafone secured part of its distribution base yesterday by paying £29.2 million for a one-third stake in Talkland. The terms look generous indeed considering Talkland has net liabilities of £60.1 million. Even a price per subscriber of £47 does not look cheap. Other cellular distributors must be over- come with glee by the thought that they, too, could become pawns in the battle of the airwaves.

THE TIMES CITY DIARY

Adding up the Trump fortune

AN insight to the wealth of Donald Trump, the American entrepreneur who makes as many headlines for his marriages as he does for his business deals, comes in the latest publication of *Vanity Fair*. A folder containing his personal financial statement details prepared by the accounting firm Spahr, Lacher & Sperber and handed voluntarily to a journalist on the magazine, showed that as of September 30, 1993, Trump had assets of \$139,326,000 in cash and cash equivalent. What one wonders, would a post Friday Wall Street shake-out reveal, and what a far cry from the heady days of 1989 when *Forbes* magazine estimated Trump's net worth at \$1.7 billion. Trump says he no longer lives on a \$400,000 a month living allowance from the banks, and is working on a third book, *The Art of the Comeback*.

Sweet Valentine

BRITISH romances will spend about £23 million on Valentine cards this year. Such, at least, is the wistful estimate from the Greeting Card and Calendar Association, which expects a record 19 million cards to go through the post in time for February 14. About £500,000

will be spent on stamps, and another £50 million on chocolates and gifts. This level of spending pales next to the Americans, who splash out about £446 million on St Valentine's Day, mainly on chocolates. The Japanese are close behind with £420 million.

Deuce

THE first cuckoo has yet to be heard, but Wimbledon hospitality brochures are already landing on my desk, proving that prices do sometimes go down. Mike Burton corporate hospitality has clipped £5 off the opening days of Wimbledon fortnight to £420, trimmed the first Saturday from £625 to £520, raised the price of the Ladies final from £875 to £990, but lopped the

men's final from £1,325 to £1,290. Can the price of strawberries be far behind?

Attali verdict

JUDGING by his recent book, Jacques Attali appears to have few regrets about his stint as head of the beleaguered European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, however bitter the criticism of his regime at Broadgate. But could it be that the Attali image is being revised? One EBRD director tells me that the mercenary Frenchman is now seen as having been something of a General Patton. In his haste to drive his armour east to the Rhine, the American World War Two hero frequently pushed deep into enemy territory, only to find that he had

left his fuel and ammunition 50 miles behind. When the history books are written, Attali may, it seems, be remembered for his haste, and not necessarily his waste. If, of course, he is in them at all...

Game for a laugh

A VARIATION on the tin-of-sardines-for-sale fable, alternatively "Oops, I'll bid that again". At the Royal Institute of Chartered Surveyors fifth annual rugby club dinner last week, and as appetites whetted ahead of the England/Scotland game, Chris Mills of Erdman Lewis made it quite clear that he had two tickets, signed by three ex-internationals, and that they were for the 1993 match, and therefore purely of souvenir value only. "What am I bid?" Mills asked, and the reply came back "£10". Brisk bidding ensued, and the final knockdown was £100 — from a bidder whose head was obviously still in the scrum, and who sheepishly offered them back for re-auction, thereby raising £115 for old tickets. Tickets for the England v France game went for £400, and the evening raised £350 for charity.

Slow going

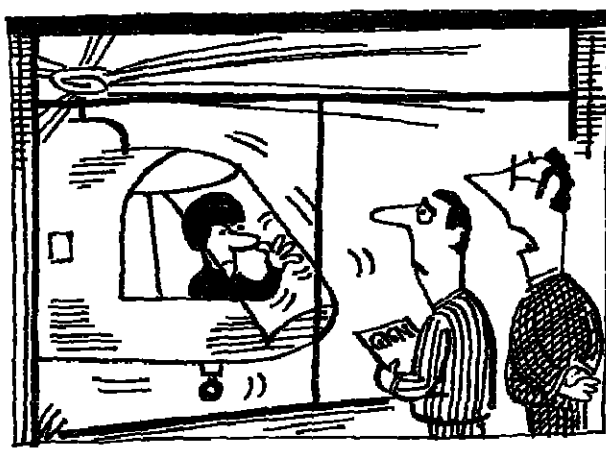
THE wheels of justice grind slowly, but they move at chariot speed compared with the

progress of some DTT investigations. In October, 1988, the DTT ordered an enquiry under the Companies Act into Consolidated Gold Fields, the nub of which is to examine share and option movements that occurred ahead of Minorco's takeover bid that broke on September 21 that year. To date, nothing has been published, and the DTT drily says the enquiry is on-going. Rudolph Agnew, then ConsGold chairman and still a company chairman about town, is but one of many anxious to read the inspectors report. "Do hurry up," he chided yesterday "I would like to include them in my memoirs, and time may not be on my side".

Harding tribute

ENTER the Harding field. In a fitting tribute to the memory of David Harding, former chief executive of BP Exploration in Latin America, who died in December and for whom a memorial service is being held today at St Lawrence Jewry-Next-Guildhall, in the City, BP is changing the name of the Forth oilfield in the North Sea. Consent to change the name to the Harding field has been given by the DTT, which agrees it is a fitting tribute. He is the first BP employee to give his name to a BP field.

COLIN CAMPBELL



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BTR expected to put £200m tag on Graham Group at flotation

By SUSAN GILCHRIST

GRAHAM Group, the BTR-owned builders merchant coming to market next month, is expected to be valued at £200 million.

The pathfinder prospectus, published yesterday, disclosed a 25 per cent rise in pre-tax profits, from £10.8 million to £13.5 million, for the year to December 31 on turnover up from £346.4 million to £374.1 million. Ian Mills, Graham's managing director, said that the group would continue to benefit from the upturn in the market and from management action to improve margins.

Graham operates two businesses, Graham's Builders Merchants, its core business, which distributes plumbing goods, building materials and ironmongery, and Goodman Croggon, a specialist distributor of agricultural hardware.

The company, which has about 4 per cent of the market, has lost share during the recession, with profits falling from a peak of £33.2 million in 1989 to £10.8 million last year.

However, Mr Mills, part of Graham's new management team, says that the decline in margins is being addressed by increasing sales of collect business, so eliminating the extra cost of delivery, and shifting to sales of higher-margin products, such as kitchens. He believes that Graham can lift its gross margins from the present 22 per cent to the industry norm of about 28 per cent.

Mr Mills says that the group will also benefit from recovery in the market, which is driven by property transactions and new house starts. The Building Material Producers forecast a 1.6 per cent rise in volume in 1994 and a 3

per cent rise in prices, although some analysts believe this is a conservative estimate.

The group, Britain's fourth-largest builders merchant, intends eventually to expand through acquisition and building outlets on greenfield sites once margins have been restored. The £7 billion market is highly fragmented, with the top ten players accounting for less than 40 per cent. "We have the purchasing power of a big player, which we intend to combine with local service," Mr Mills said.

The flotation will be by way of a placing and offer for sale. The full prospectus will be published on February 22, and the public offer closes on March 2. Dealings are expected to begin on March 8. BTR confirmed the sale of its 59 per cent stake in Hawker Siddeley Canada, by way of a public offering, for £25.25 (£12.75) per share, to realise aggregate sale proceeds of about £312.6 million.

BTR last month unveiled plans to spin off Hawker Siddeley Canada, which is listed in Toronto and is involved in businesses ranging from industrial maintenance and transportation leasing to mining contracting and some manufacturing. The move is part of the group's strategy of concentrating on core industrial manufacturing businesses and withdrawing from service businesses. BTR had acquired the stake in 1991 when it paid £1.55 billion for Hawker Siddeley, the aerospace and engineering group.

Terms have been agreed with a syndicate of underwriters led by RBC Dominion Securities Inc. The offering is expected to be completed by the end of April.



Gordon Yardley, left, Graham Group's chairman, and Ian Mills, managing director

BMW to invest £800m on boosting Rover

By KEVIN EASON
MOTORING CORRESPONDENT

BMW will invest £800 million in Rover in the next 18 months to gear up the British company to increase production and introduce new models.

It emerged yesterday that the German company, which last week moved to take over Rover, is willing to spend as

much as the £800 million acquisition price in the company's three main UK plants.

Bernard Fischetsrieder, the BMW chairman, is prepared to spend much more than was expected to bring Rover to the fore of European manufacturers.

The £800 million suggested yesterday was more than three times investment estimates given when the purchase from British Aerospace

was announced last week.

Discussions have begun on investment. BMW executives believe that the idea to reintroduce famous but now defunct names — such as Triumph, Riley and Austin — will have to be backed with cash.

The funds will also let Rover put assembly lines on a "fast track" to better quality and

productivity. Although some Rover assembly lines at Longbridge, Birmingham, and Cowley, Oxford, and Swindon, Wiltshire, are among the most efficient in Europe, others fall short of BMW targets.

The investment plan's size let BMW play down suggestions that Rolls-Royce is next on its purchase list. BMW has a close co-operation deal with Rolls-

Royce, which needs help to develop expensive technologies. Analysts believe that it would be logical for Rolls-Royce to join Rover, giving the new German-British alliance a complete range from £100,000 limousine to £5,000 Mini.

Carweek today says that Herr Fischetsrieder had "set his sights" on acquiring Rolls-Royce. It quotes him as saying: "We have had a lot of discussions with Rolls-Royce in the past. There were a couple of reasons why we did not get together, but a deal cannot be ruled out."

However, a BMW spokesman said: "The company believes it has enough on its plate."

Anglia Secure Homes rights rescue

By PHILIP PANGALOS

SHARES in Anglia Secure Homes, the retirement homes specialist, were suspended at 12p, after the group unveiled an important shake-up that includes a rescue rights issue, the acquisition of two new companies and a change of name to Care UK.

Nash Sells, the venture capitalist, is effectively coming to Anglia's rescue, backing a reorganisation that will see the group move out of sheltered housing and focus on care homes. Under the plan, Anglia, which is based at Colchester, Essex, will raise £3.4 million in a three-for-two rights issue and subscription by Nash Sells at 4.25p a share.

Anglia will become a specialist provider of nursing homes contracted to health authorities and of management services to the elderly. The group will sell its sheltered housing business and buy two nursing home companies, Haven Healthcare and Community Health Services. The disposals and acquisitions depend on shareholders' approval.

On completion of the shake-up, Care UK will own or manage 427 nursing home beds of which 222 will be contracted to health authorities. It also expects firm commitments for another 313 beds of which 301 would also be contracted to health authorities. The group will also provide property management and monitoring services to more than 4,000 residents and be entitled to the ground rent income from over 70 sheltered housing developments.

Nash Sells, the main vendor of the nursing homes, will end up with more than 60 per cent of the shares and John Nash will become non-executive chairman, replacing Peter Edmondson.

Trading in the new shares is likely to begin on March 4 on the second-tier Unlisted Securities Market, with the company valued at about £17 million.

The shake-up was accompanied by results for the year to September 30 showing a reduced pre-tax loss of £7.1 million (£15.5 million loss), on turnover of £14.1 million (£17.5 million). The loss per share is trimmed to 22.2p (46.9p loss). There is no dividend. The company said it was "another difficult year" with the housing market remaining lethargic and depressed, although prices stabilised after four years of decline.

Sheffield Insulations bids for main rival

SHEFFIELD Insulations Group, Britain's biggest distributor of insulation, has made an £18.1 million takeover bid for Freeman, its biggest competitor. Sheffield said the deal would strengthen its UK activities, and provide it with an important new base in Continental Europe. Freeman shareholders are being offered eight new Sheffield shares for every nine Freeman shares, valuing the latter at 240p.

Freeman shareholders will also get a second interim dividend of 4p, should the offer go unconditional. Sheffield has received irrevocable undertakings to accept the offer from shareholders speaking for 57 per cent of the equity. It is also forecasting taxable profits of at least £9.75 million for 1993. Freeman shares rose 22p to 242p, while Sheffield rose 18p to 288p.

Parkside seeks listing

PARKSIDE International, a packaging manufacturer, is seeking a London listing through a £12 million share placing. A total of 11,044 million new shares are being placed at 110p each, valuing Parkside at £32.8 million and raising £7 million before expenses. In the year to February 28, Parkside made profits from continuing operations before tax and non-recurring items of £1.86 million on turnover of £21.9 million. The profits forecast for the current year is £2.2 million.

Shell venture enquiry

THE European Commission is to open an enquiry into the planned plastics joint venture between Royal Dutch Shell, the Anglo-Dutch oil multinational, and Montedison, the chemicals-to-food arm of the Italian Ferruzzi group. Both companies said that they were confident that the deal would be given the green light. Meanwhile, Codelout, the Gibraltar-based investment company, is buying a stake of about 4 per cent in Montedison.

Powerscreen expands

POWERSCREEN International, the Northern Irish mechanical engineering group, is expanding in the US with the \$13.5 million acquisitions of Simplicity Engineering and Ludlow-Saylor from Lukens Inc of Pennsylvania. Simplicity makes, sells and services heavy duty material processing systems. Ludlow-Saylor produces woven-wire cloth and cast polyurethane screens. They had combined turnover of \$25.2 million and net earnings of \$1.7 million in 1993.

Betacom slides

BETACOM, the telephone equipment company whose main shareholder is Amstrad, reported a slide in pre-tax profits to £103,000 in the six months to December 31, compared with £350,000. Turnover edged up to £5.91 million (£6.67 million). Operating profits stood at £43,000, compared with an £8,000 loss. Earnings fell to 0.15p (0.46p) a share. There is again no dividend. The company is entering into agreements with Amstrad in Germany, Benelux and Italy.

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Invitation to the Annual General Meeting

Thyssen Aktiengesellschaft invites shareholders to the 40th ordinary general meeting on Friday, 18th March 1994, at 10.00 am, in the Mercator-Halle, König-Heinrich-Platz, Duisburg.

Agenda

1. Presentation of the adopted annual accounts of the Company and the Group, as well as of the combined management report of Thyssen AG and the Thyssen Group for the fiscal year 1992/93, together with the report of the Supervisory Board
2. Resolution on the official approval of the acts and omissions of the Executive Board
3. Resolution on the official approval of the acts and omissions of the Supervisory Board
4. Election of statutory auditor
5. Election of alternate Supervisory Board members

According to Art. 13 of our company's memorandum and articles of association, such shareholders are entitled to participate in the Annual General Meeting as, on or before 11th March 1994, have deposited, and left there until the close of the Annual General Meeting, their shares with the deposit bank, S.G. Warburg & Co. Ltd. in England.

Düsseldorf, February 1994
The Executive Board



THYSSEN AKTIENGESELLSCHAFT

THE TIMES WEDNESDAY FEBRUARY 9 1999

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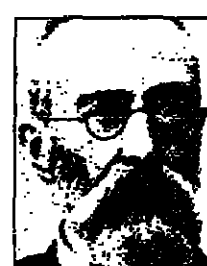
THEATRE page 34

In Docklands, a good
old avant-garde
happening in a disused
cargo shed

ARTS

MUSIC page 35

Rimsky-Korsakov is
celebrated in St
Petersburg with an
eight-day festival



Save Wren's City masterpieces

Marcus Binney
pleads for the rescue
of the Square Mile's
priceless
Anglican heritage

Last month Lord Templeman plunged into controversy when his Church of England commission recommended the closure or change of use of 24 ancient churches in the City of London. All of them are of architectural importance; and no fewer than 17 are by Wren. The problem is that none, according to Templeman, has a congregation large enough to warrant retaining it as a place of worship.

There is perhaps one radical solution: turn the churches into lively halls. Many already have ancient links with livery companies, and Michael Cassidy, chairman of the City of London Corporation's policy and resources committee, is enthusiastic. "Some might be ideal. There's a large number of new livery companies seeking halls, and by a long-standing rule they have to be within the Square Mile."

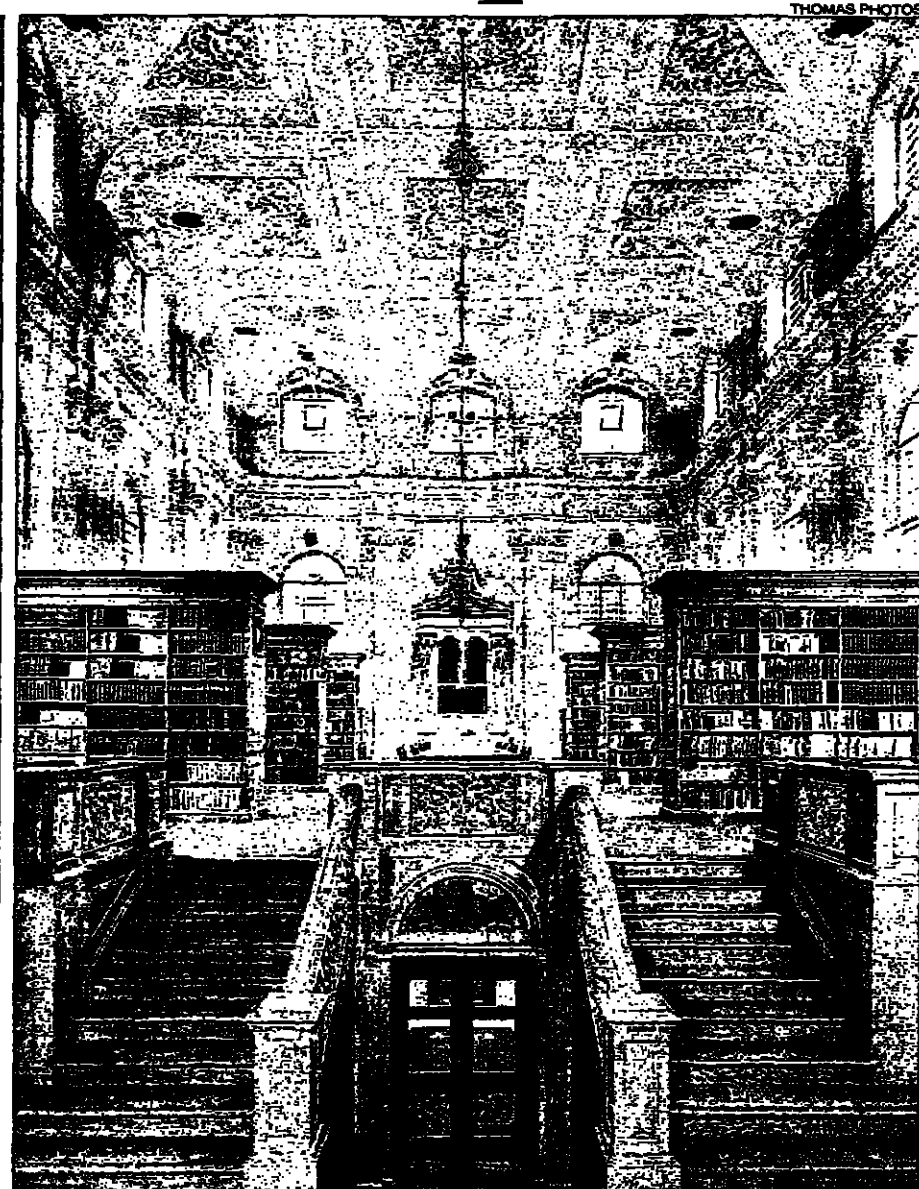
That would at least ensure that a church of the quality of St Stephen Walbrook has an active future. This is the best-known of the threatened Wren churches, and also houses a large Henry Moore altar. "It's sad to have such a magnificently restored building just for people to walk in and look at," says Cassidy. "Activity would be more appropriate."

But here's the nub of the problem. Unquestionably the Wren churches could make impressive livery halls, or concert halls or libraries, as suggested in the Templeman report. But how much of their essential character would be destroyed in the process? Compare, for instance, the "before" and "after" photographs here of All Saints Church in Oxford, now handsomely transformed as Lincoln College library. The conversion has been done with superb aplomb and with new woodwork of quality and robustness. But the cost was the removal of all the original woodwork furnishings and numerous splendid monuments.

Wren took as much trouble over furnishing the City churches as he did over St Paul's Cathedral. The woodwork, ironwork and sculpture represent a golden age of English craftsmanship. If a church becomes a livery hall, the pews, choir-stalls, pulpit, font, reredos and monuments would almost inevitably go.



All Saints Church in Oxford before (left) and after its conversion into Lincoln College library — handsomely done, but at the cost of its original woodwork furnishings



A better answer might be to find ways of using the churches without physically altering them. Some of those on the hit-list are already, for example, centres of music-making. David Evans, the rector of Wren's St Michael Cornhill, told the commission: "The church is world-famous for its music — regular concerts, broadcasts, recitals are a feature of our life. We host the Royal College of Music's diploma exams. The church possesses a stunning acoustic."

The Templeman report sees all City Anglican worship concentrated in just 12 active churches. "In the minds of the commission, the 24 on the reserve list will not be used for worship," says the area dean. Obvi-

ously it is for the diocese to decide where it wishes to deploy clergy. But shouldn't a church be allowed to continue if it is staffed on a voluntary basis and makes no call on diocesan funds?

This case is put with passionate conviction by the Rev Oswald Clarke, the non-stipendiary priest-in-charge of Wren's St Mary Abchurch: "We wish to maintain our independence and are not willing to be joined to another parish or have learn ministries imposed upon us."

Clarke speaks lyrically of the quality of the Grinling Gibbons carvings in his church. "The great swags of flowers and fruit are so delicate and natural you could

imagine yourself in the country, picking a rose, a pear or a grape." And St Mary Abchurch has large numbers of visitors. "Americans are particularly keen on Wren," says Clarke.

The Templeman list of 24 churches is to be seen in the context of the large number which have already been lost. Of 50 churches built by Wren, just 22 survive in substantial form. Of a further 15 churches built in the 18th and early 19th century, only seven remain.

Templeman talks of the possibility of establishing a City churches trust, along the lines of the Norwich Historic Churches Trust. The problem at Norwich is that the church trust was charged with finding

alternative uses, but many of these proved unsuitable or unsustainable. A better solution is based on the successful Romney Marshes trust, which for ten years has helped to keep a wonderful group of lonely churches open.

Jealousy has arisen because more than £1 million a year of Church of England funds is earmarked for the repair of the City of London churches. The answer must be to ask the charity commissioners what proportion of the historic endowments of the City churches should be reserved for the care of the buildings. A figure of, say, 10 per cent of the £9 million annually distributed by the City Parochial Foundation is not unreasonable.

The problem of unwanted churches can be dealt with only by healthy and open dialogue between church, state and the public at large. Both the Government and the public have legitimate roles, since the City churches were rebuilt after the Great Fire with the proceeds of the coal tax and furnished by gifts from the City and the livery companies.

Wren's glorious churches should become the focus of a new drive to encourage visitors to explore the City. The Church of England's problem with falling City congregations is real enough. But there must be a better way forward than by casting doubt on the future of a priceless part of Britain's architectural heritage.

Polish master dies

THE great Polish composer Witold Lutoslawski died in Warsaw on Monday after a short illness. He had just celebrated his 81st birthday. The world of music will mourn a figure of striking contradictions: a tiny physique that disguised a giant compositional talent; music of exquisite surface craftsmanship hiding a passionate response to a life of extraordinary turbulence and uncertainty.

His father was executed by the Russians when he was five; he himself was captured by Germans when fighting in the Polish Army in 1939, but escaped and made his way to Warsaw where he survived by giving clandestine concerts in cafes. Later he heard that his brother had been executed by the Nazis. He never lost his dissident instincts. As late as 1981 he was declared *persona non grata* by the Soviet Union when he aligned himself with Solidarity.

Most of his early compositions were destroyed during the Polish Uprising. Later, in Soviet-dominated Poland, his First Symphony was banned for "formalism". But Lutoslawski continued secretly to experiment with the avant-garde while producing traditional music for public consumption. His chance of wider fame came with the cultural thaw after Stalin's death: a series of masterpieces beginning with *Musique funèbre*, the Second Symphony and *Live pour orchestre* established his instantly recognisable style.

What were its main hallmarks? In some passages he set players free from the conductor's beat — they could choose how fast or slow to play their parts — yet he had calculated precisely how the result would sound. There was no chance element. He instilled a superb sense of musical drama into his works, particularly in the magnificent Third and Fourth Symphonies (the latter was premiered only last year). "Large-scale music," he said, "should have a plot like a gripping novel."

Finally, he achieved what had seemed impossible: he produced ravishingly beautiful sounds while working in the avant-garde tradition. Thus he pointed the way out of the mire of non-communication into which post-war music had floundered. Happily, he lived long enough to enjoy his triumph. A courteous, modest and witty man, he was much in demand throughout the world to conduct his own music — and revered by musicians and audiences alike.

RICHARD MORRISON



Adam Cooper, left, and Stuart Cassidy in *Renard*

Quite a mouthful on tour

DANCE: John Percival on a mixed Royal Ballet programme

Have they bitten off more than they can chew? Three entirely new works in "Dance Bites", the programme of the Royal Ballet's new small touring group, was probably too many — especially given the company's present shortage of principal dancers. One consequence was that the two familiar works on the bill suffered. Forsythe's *Herman Schmerman* was danced with plenty of zip at Monday's performance, but with Forsythe's lighting scheme poorly translated from Covent Garden; and Ashton's white trio from *Monotones* was way below standard in performance and production.

Stravinsky's *Renard*, staged by Ashley Page, is much the best of the new works, thanks in no small measure to Bruce McLean's design. Placing the four singers just outside the proscenium, he fills most of

the stage with a structure providing a precariously steep ramp up to the high platform where the Cock roosts with his six black tufted hens, and recesses underneath, in which Goat and Cat skive from their guard duties. Wonderful changes of colour mark the stages in the Fox's cunning attempts on his prey.

The Fox wears his brush on his head — to match the Cock's comb it has red bristles and a black handle, the better to flourish it with after his tragicomic demise. There is another visual pun, a naughty one, in the red flash on the Cock's black costume.

William Trevitt and Peter Abegglen play slyly prowling *Renard* and his silly strutting intended victim, with Adam Cooper as a wide-boy Goat and Stuart Cassidy a marma-

Dance Bites
Haymarket, Leicester

lade Cat. This is casting from strength, and Page gives them nimble brief episodes of dance, but mainly concentrates on an animated illustration of Stravinsky's songs, which are given in Rollo Myers's English translation.

To go with this and the Ashton and Forsythe contributions, I guess regional audiences would appreciate a bit of real virtuoso razzmatazz (I know that I would), but instead they get two more five-finger exercises by the Royal Ballet's favourite choreographic aspirants. Maybe Matthew Hart's *Caught Dances* (more pun-

ning) was meant to provide this; it would have suited Lutoslawski's short *Dance Preludes* in the version for wind quintet and solo strings. Lionel Friend ably conducts this and the Stravinsky.

But somewhere along the way Hart apparently decided on some kind of dramatic meaning with the female of the species assassinating her mate. Neither the choreography nor the varicoloured tights designed by Yolanda Sonnabend make this very clear. Leanne Benjamin (replacing the indisposed Viviana Durante) and Jose Manuel Carreno glower or glitter as required, but the piece is like Winston Churchill's famous definition of an MP named Bossum — neither one thing nor the other.

William Tuckett chose five

Bach preludes (played on the piano by Henry Roche) for his new work, *Desirable Hostilities*, and apparently let them influence him into a quieter central section between the Forsythe imitations of his opening and closing numbers.

Adam Cooper, in a busy evening (he also partnered Sylvie Guillem in *Herman*), was given the best and most demanding of Tuckett's patches of ingenuity. Gary Avis was the other member of the quartet.

If the Royal Ballet had sent out small groups like this while still running its longer seasons with larger-sized productions in bigger regional theatres, it would have been easier to welcome the enterprise. As supplementation of what the company does best, it could be a good idea; as a replacement, it needs a lot more thought, effort and imagination.

MEET PAUL MERTON

Paul Merton presents his live show at the Theatre Club, London, on Tuesday March 22. Merton began his career as a comedian, but it is as a television writer that he is now best known. He was voted the best television comedy writer in the 1992 British Comedy Awards and his radio show is a regular feature on *Just a Minute* and *I'm Sorry, I Haven't a Clue*. For the London Theatre Club, Merton is joined by Lee Simpson, best known for *TBS Derry* and

THE TIMES
THEATRE CLUB

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Recently a well-known rock singer released a record. The song was originally recorded at Wembley, the vocals were first recorded in Florida, the crowd noises in Detroit. There was a guest vocalist, whose stage contribution was later re-recorded at a studio in Los Angeles. The main vocal was re-recorded at a studio in London. The record had a drum track which was wholly recorded in another studio. The finished product was released as being "live".

What would you call that? A swindle comes to mind, but nobody on *Bye The Music* was saying so. The Radio 3 series, consisting of a dozen 15-minute programmes on consecutive weekdays, started on Monday and promises to be a revealing insight into digital recording. The question being: is this music?

I admit to bias, having been brought up in a musical family to believe that you bought an instrument and learnt to play it that would be

With a track in my heart...

RADIO REVIEW

music (though in the case of my violin playing, only approximately).

If the use of samplers, drum machines and computers to produce music was confined to the pop industry one might well accept that a frivolous industry is entitled to its little jokes. But classical music is headed the same way. In the programme to be transmitted on Friday we hear the classical record producer David Groves at work in Abbey Road studios, editing a "live" recording of Verdi's *Don Carlos*.

The finished version is taken from several performances and Groves is very conscious of the ethical issues. Yet he says: "It is genuinely a live recording... we are able to edit together the very best parts of the performances so that an amalgam of the best standards is put together."

That statement is at least

debatable, as was the methodology, discussed in Monday's programme, used to produce a recording of Beethoven's violin concerto. For that, a system called *Midi* (musical instrument digital interface) mutes out the solo part from another recording of the concerto, and a different soloist re-records the violin part — a sort of classical karaoke.

And there was me thinking you recorded the Beethoven by putting a violinist in a studio with a symphony orchestra. How silly.

Technology can certainly do interesting things with sound. On Monday we were treated to a Radio 3 jingle made using a sampler, computers, a drum machine and a sequencer, which can juggle notes and phrases. A woman speaks the

sentence "This is Radio 3". The "th" from "This" is rendered about an octave higher and turned into a keyboard note, the "is" from the same word becomes a drum hi-hat riff, the "ad" from "Radio" is transposed down and becomes an electric bass sound.

The result is fairly ghastly, unless you like that type of thing. But a jingle is a jingle: music is something else, defined in my dictionary as the "art of combining sounds of voice(s) or instrument(s) to achieve beauty of form and expression of emotion".

Emotion is surely at the heart of music and the danger of technology is that it will become the end rather than the means, thus stripping out emotion. Already, in popular music, the makers and the

buyers alike talk in terms of great tracks rather than great songs.

In *Bye The Music* we are told by Jaz of the dance music band Utah Saints: "I'm hesitant to use the word musician. I just say to people that I make records." I admire the honesty, but this puts Jaz and people who manufacture vinyl in the same business.

Happily Philip Glass intro-

duces a sense of proportion. Recalling exaggerated reports way back in the Sixties which forecast that computers would replace instruments, he says: "There's a love of playing music, there's always some jackass who feels like playing the violin or the piano."

There is of course an Australian kingfisher known as a laughing jackass. The poor fellow makes a loud and discordant noise but if he'll just step into the studio I feel sure they can put that right.

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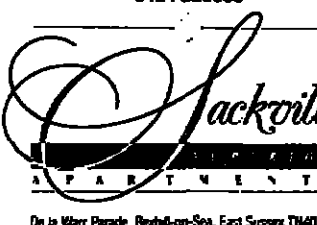
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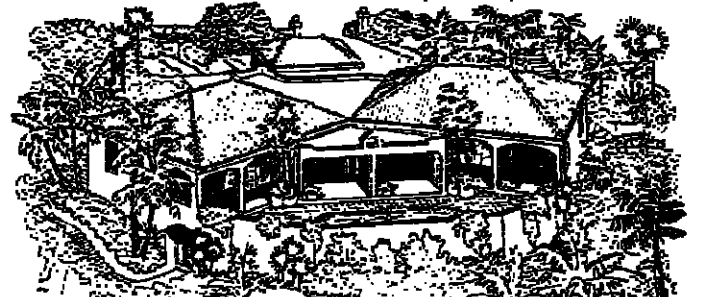
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THE TIMES

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سكنا من الاميل

Harding's case put back by US committee

FROM DAVID MILLER IN LILLEHAMMER

THE Olympic movement was yesterday grappling with two fronts with its perennial non-sporting event here in Norway: freewheeling morality. Should Tonya Harding, the American figure skater, compete here a fortnight today? Should the International Olympic Committee (IOC) cut the costs and the perks, of the host city election circus?

The first has the makings of a Lillehammer horror story out of some Stone Age cave, while the second affects the long-term dignity, and the fraying reputation, of all future Games. But to take the second issue first, the IOC members reached a grand compromise. The Princess Royal was once among a minority in opposition.

Before and after lunch, 30 members spoke from the floor, mostly against the executive board proposal to reduce the ten candidate cities bidding for the 2002 Winter Games to two — by a special commission — before throwing the decision before the members.

Lillehammer'94

Oh yes, and the members should also visit the remaining two candidates, the board suggested, travelling unaccompanied. The majority of speakers vigorously demanded amendment to the proposal, for a reduction instead to either three or preferably four cities. Lillehammer, they argued, would never have earned the Games with a pre-selection of two (it would probably have been Sofia and Ostersund of Sweden). And, they insisted, honorary sports officials must be allowed to take their wives.

An amendment for pre-selection of four was carried by 69 to seven with four abstentions.

It was also agreed that members could be accompanied by one guest but not, as often in the past, by a menagerie of relatives.

While many members, such as Coles, of Australia, Troeger (Germany) and Rogge (Belgium) were saying the decision was a sensible compromise, Anita DeBrazis,

the forthright American executive board member, regretted the resistance to short-listing two. "Every change is risky, but that's sport," she said. "It was a challenge. Now we've modified it. Yet it always comes down to a decision between two in the end."

Rogge, president of the European Association of National Olympic Committees, welcomed the move to help cities not waste their own money.

Dr Un Yong Kim, an IOC vice-president from South Korea, considered the move was no more than a first step towards further rationalisation before the election of the summer host for 2004. What the day did demonstrate was that the IOC retains contact with democracy, that the members can, for better or worse, adjust executive board intentions. The board's error was that the proposals were presented to members without time for prior consideration.

A decision by the US Olympic committee, regarding Harding's participation in the women's figure skating, due to begin on February 23, has been put back to next Tuesday, February 15, after the Games have begun, at a press conference in Oslo, 120 miles south of here. All the present indications are that, in an extraordinary scenario, Harding, alleged to be involved or to have had knowledge of a physical attack upon a compatriot skater and team member on January 6, will compete against Nancy Kerrigan, the victim.

Harding's selection, or suspension is beyond IOC control, wholly the responsibility of the USOC. Their quandary is that, even though Harding has admitted withholding information that might have been relevant to her former husband's admitted attack on Kerrigan, if she is withdrawn from the US team her lawyers will throw the book at USOC. Whatever the courts may eventually decide — should, indeed, Harding go to court — she is innocent until proved guilty, as Dick Pound, Canadian member of the executive board, warned yesterday. "It would be risky to deny Harding the natural process of law," observed Pound, a QC. The irony of the case is that if the two skaters do meet, the television viewing figures in the United States will break all Olympic records, either summer or winter. Macabre as it may be, television and commercial interests are on a winner, though it would do Harding's sponsors more good in the long run if she quietly withdrew rather than force the issue.

Hollywood dramas, page 13



Gooch leads a pack of short-track skaters during training at the Guildford leisure complex in Surrey

Gooch prefers skating to scaring

W if O'Reilly knows all about power-play in the dressing-room: the use of psyche to unnerv rivals before a race. "How do you project yourself as being bigger than they are?" he said. "You do it by eyeball contact. It's power-play and they play it too."

O'Reilly, short-track world champion in 1991, knows how to get his message across but one who has yet to learn such skills is Nicky Gooch, who will partner O'Reilly in the Olympic short-track races at the skating venue in Hamar.

Gooch, 21, eight years O'Reilly's junior, is the often overshadowed British national champion and has yet to build up comparable track credibility. Instead of locker-room power-play, he prefers to go out and race.

At the Spectrum leisure complex in Guildford, the Aldwych club, of which Gooch is a member, had an hour of ice time at its dispos-

Michael Coleman talks to a short-track racer who concentrates all his efforts on the ice

al. The rink was soon to be carpeted over for the rest of the week to host a conference. No time was wasted on practising eyeball contact.

Under the eye stopwatch and whistle of Alan Luke, the national coach, strings of young men and girls were undergoing aerobic training, spells of two minutes' steady circling of the track followed by a similar period for recovery. Then repeated. It went on for the hour.

Gooch was closely trailed by Matthew Rowe, the junior title-holder and others. He often glanced at a heart monitor on his wrist. "He's under instruction to keep it at 155," Luke, who seemed to have every skater on the rink in focus all the time, said. In spite of the sharp bends and tight 111-metre circumference

of the track, the skaters remained glued, streamlining. Nobody fell, a tribute to Luke's careful grading so that equals were together.

The Aldwych club, founded in 1906, moved to Guildford when Richmond rink was demolished and the council failed to supply a replacement arena. Since the Alexandra Palace and Streatham clubs ceased activities, Aldwych is the only short-track club in the London area.

Earlier in the day, Gooch had been hill-running and bounding — a specific speed skater's exercise — in Richmond Park. He also uses the park's seven-mile hilly circuit for cycling, a sport he wants to take up seriously this summer. "I'd like to make the British track or road team at the summer Olympics in At-

lanta in 1996," he said. "At an Olympic training camp last year, I beat the cyclists in the physiology tests and their coach was impressed."

Gooch, surprisingly, does not train on ice every day, even though his part-time job as an assistant at the centre would allow this. Yet three weeks ago, he went to Bruges and won the Europa Cup over the four world championship distances. "It involved 14 races in two days," Ian, his father, said. Among those behind him was Mirko Vuillemin, of Italy, who at the meeting in Hamar three months ago finished second in the 500 metres to Andy Gable, of the United States, who is tipped for Olympic gold.

Gooch's favourite energy food is Weetabix, coated with butter and Marmite, and sticky buns. Not quite what Peggy Wellington, the short-track nutritionist, might recommend but it gets results.

Schofield's switch may be key to success for Leeds

BY CHRISTOPHER IRVINE

LEEDS have spent most of this season without Garry Schofield, the Great Britain rugby league captain, which explains some of their troubles. On his return last Sunday, the Headingley side was transformed by a virtuoso display.

Following a second long injury lay-off, Schofield came on as a substitute late in the first half and set up three tries from scrum half to prevent a third consecutive upset by Salford. Leeds will be tempted to have Schofield bound up in cotton wool for the Silk Cut Challenge Cup fifth-round tie at home to Warrington on Saturday.

Although more accustomed to stand-off, a role ably being filled by Griffiths, who lost 5-0 to him at the corresponding stage of last year's event, established a 3-1 lead with breaks of 50, 74 and 56.

The rot began to set in for Griffiths when, at 28-0 in the fifth frame, he missed an easy red from which James compiled a 90 clearance. The following two frames were shared before Griffiths squandered a gilt-edged opportunity to win 5-3 when he missed another straightforward red early in the eighth.

James stepped in with a 51 for 4-4 and after a woefully-misjudged safety shot from Griffiths in the deciding frame, James put together a run of 92 to guarantee £18,000, more than double his total prize-money this season.

"It's taken me two or three months to get used to the extra insulin I am using now," James said. As usual, he checked his sugar-blood level shortly before playing and administered the necessary dosage.

James, who revealed that the greater the pressure of a match, the higher his blood-sugar levels tend to rise, has turned to physical and mental training in an attempt to attain his old competitive sharpness.

In the quarter-finals tomorrow, he will meet Stephen Hendry, the title-holder seeking his sixth successive Masters triumph. "I was the last person to beat Stephen at the Crucible. I want to be the first to beat him here," James who gained 13-11 quarter-final victory over Hendry in the 1991 world championship, said.

James is clear on how to halt his slide from the thirteenth position in the world rankings in which he began the season. "I've lost so many matches this season against players I used to hammer 5-0. I'm going to start taking risks again and stop playing the boring, methodical game," he said.

Whether that is advisable against Hendry, a winner of all 21 of his matches at Wembley since 1989, is highly questionable.

Recovery enables James to defeat Griffiths

BY PHIL YATES

STEVE James, who has abandoned fast motorcycles in favour of taking yoga classes, drew on his newly-discovered inner calm to beat Terry Griffiths 5-4 in the second round of snooker's Benson and Hedges Masters at Wembley Conference Centre yesterday.

James, 32, from Cannock, has been battling against a worsening diabetic condition first diagnosed two months after he had captured the Mercantile Classic title in 1990. A shortage of energy and associated concentration problems, have contributed to his fall to 22nd in the latest provisional rankings.

It looked as if James was heading for another defeat when Griffiths, who lost 5-0 to him at the corresponding stage of last year's event, established a 3-1 lead with breaks of 50, 74 and 56.

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RESULT: Second round: S. James (Eng) bt T. Griffiths (Wales) 5-4.

FOOTBALL	
SWINHOVE IRISH LEAGUE: Postponed: Newry v Linfield.	
BRAZILIAN LEAGUE: Rio de Janeiro: Vasco da Gama 1, Flamengo 1.	
FA TROPHY: First round: Worthing 3, Merton 0.	
BEAZER HOMES LEAGUE: Premier division: Postponed: Hednesford v Chelmsford.	
PONTING CENTRAL LEAGUE: Second division: Mansfield 1, West Brom 2; Grimsby 2, Bradford 2.	
NEVILLE OVENDEN COMBINATION: First division: Bristol Rovers 3, Arsenal 0; Chelsea 2, Bristol City 2; Millwall 1, Crystal Palace 1.	

BASKETBALL	
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION (NSA): Atlanta 141, Detroit 97; Indiana 104, Golden State 95; Philadelphia 125, Charlotte 117; Miami 98, New York 85.	
BOWLS	
YETTON TROPHY: Fifth round: Camble 1, Swinton 0.	

CRICKET	
RED STRIPE CUP: Port of Spain: Trinidad and Tobago 435, St Kitts 206, St Vincent 63.	
SAINT LUCIA: Port of Spain: Trinidad and Tobago 435, St Kitts 206, St Vincent 63.	

GOLF	
UNIVERSITY MATCHES: Cambridge University 14, Woking 10-8; Berkshire 0, Cambridge University 14-4.	

VOLVO EUROPEAN ORDER OF MERIT	
1. E. Elst (Swi) 88, 100, 2. A. Forsberg (Swe) 88, 100, 3. H. Clark (Eng) 87, 80, 4. M. Langer (Ger) 48, 80, 5. S. Langer (Ger) 41, 81, 25.0, 6. P. Hedberg (Swe) 34, 80, 7. W. Wiersma (Ned) 32, 80, 8. J. Wiersma (Ned) 30, 80, 9. R. Karlsson (Swe) 28, 80, 10. J. Lomax (Eng) 26, 77, 10.	

ICE HOCKEY	
NATIONAL LEAGUE (NHL): New York Rangers 1, Washington 0; Pittsburgh 1, Montreal 4; Toronto 1, Toronto 2; Calgary 4, Edmonton 3.	

RACKETS	
QUEEN'S CLUB, London: Lacoste British open championships: Third round: P. Budge 1, M. Wilton 15-5, 15-10, 15-10; P. Budge 1, M. Wilton 15-10, 15-10, 15-10; P. Budge 1, M. Wilton 15-10, 15-10, 15-10.	

RUGBY UNION	
HEBERN LEAGUE: First division: Postponed: Cross Keys v Neath.	

REAL TENNIS	
QUEEN'S CLUB, London: Henry Last public schools old boys championships: Semi-finals: R. Taylor v S. Snow and M. Drysdale 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.	

HAMPTON COURT, George Wimpey British mixed doubles championships:	
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HOCKEY	
POZZA EXPRESS NATIONAL LEAGUE: First division: P. W. D. L. F. Apts. Hounslow 13, 9, 2, 2, 37, 10, 29; Reading 13, 9, 2, 2, 37, 10, 29; Hounslow 13, 9, 2, 2, 37, 10, 29; Reading 13, 9, 2, 2, 37, 10, 29.	

MEMBERS' TOURNAMENT: First round: 1. Hounslow 13, 9, 2, 2, 37, 10, 29; Reading 13, 9, 2, 2, 37, 10, 29. <th data-kind="ghost"></th>	
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Survivor Kapil passes test of time

Michael Henderson
puts the record haul
of Test wickets taken
by a legend of Indian
cricket in perspective

If you can bowl, Fred Trueman growled on the air waves during the Edgbaston Test last summer, when he assumed his honour was being publicly slighted, "taking four hundred these days should be a doddle." He meant Test wickets, a subject on which he could tell Magnus Magnusson a thing or two, particularly when asked about how he got 307 of his own.

"If only I was born 20 years later, and played the number of Tests these chaps do," he is entitled to think, "no one would have got near me." Particularly when he hears news like yesterday's from Ahmedabad that Kapil Dev had broken the world record for Test dismissals previously held by Sir Richard Hadlee and, of course, Trueman himself.

The crowd of 6,000 went berserk when Sanjay Manjrekar caught Hashan Tillekeratne at short leg on the first morning of the third Test between India and Sri Lanka. At that moment Kapil bounded down the pitch to the acclaim of his team-mates and 432 balloons — one for each of those wickets — were released. The standing ovation delayed the resumption of play for a minute.

Kapil, 35, has achieved his goal through longevity as much as skill. He has played 130 Tests, almost twice as many as Trueman, 44 more than Dennis Lillee. His ambition fulfilled, he can now rest easy although he declared afterwards that his revised aim is to take 450 Test wickets and then move on to 475.

At a time when it seems cricketers are breaking records every month a few figures are relevant. For instance, if Trueman had played as many Tests as Kapil, and continued to take wickets at the rate he did, he would have ended up with 595 instead of 307, which was the benchmark for a decade until Lance Gibbs beat it. Hadlee would have taken 651 and Dennis Lillee, as befits the greatest of all fast bowlers, living or dead, 659.

Of the nine bowlers who have taken more than 300 Test wickets only Hadlee and Lillee have averaged five a Test. Kapil has taken the fewest per match so it is a good job he has not missed a Test through injury since he made his debut 16 years ago against Pakistan in Faisalabad. He was dropped in 1984 as an official approach for playing a rash stroke.

Facts, as ever, conceal as much as they reveal. It cannot honestly be said that Kapil is the greatest fast bowler of his age, or even the finest all-rounder. Lillee, Thomson (200 Test wickets only), Roberts, Holding, Imran and Marshall tower above him in the first category. Botham pulls rank ahead of him, and all others, in the second.

What can be said with certainty is that when his wickets are allied to his 5,000 runs, Kapil emerges as the finest all-rounder in the history of Indian cricket. Although, given that rivals are



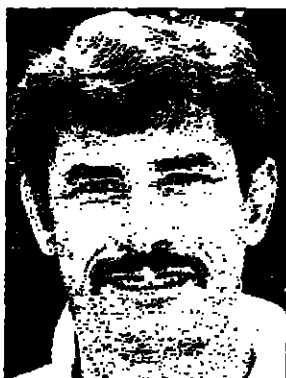
Kapil celebrates with his Indian team-mates after taking the wicket against Sri Lanka that eclipsed the record of Sir Richard Hadlee in Ahmedabad yesterday

fairly thin on the ground, that is almost like being the finest Polish film-maker. The fêted man shines all the more.

Hadlee was unreserved in his praise of his successor. "In many ways I'm sad my record has gone but I've had the record for about five years so I suppose I've been the pacesetter. It's a very special moment for Kapil, and world cricket, and we should enjoy the moment for him. The fact that half his wickets have come in India and places like Pakistan is a tribute to his stamina and determination."

Kapil's best series was in 1979 when he took 32 wickets in six Tests against a Pakistan team led by Asif Iqbal. His most productive away series came in Australia in 1991-92 when he took 25 wickets in five Tests.

"I think I have some more years of cricket left in me,"



Hadlee: full of praise

was Kapil's judgment. "People say India cannot produce good sportsmen. I hope this record will prove our detractors wrong and inspire many to achieve greater heights."

If Kapil never quite measured up to Botham's all-

round brilliance he was the equal of Hadlee and Imran, and a far better batsman than either. At his best, when he hit Eddie Hemmings for four successive sixes at Lord's in 1990 to help India avoid the follow-on, there were few more thrilling strikers of the ball.

It was during the 1983 World Cup in England that Kapil gave a perfect demonstration of his ability to play an explosive middle-order innings. In a group match against Zimbabwe at Tunbridge Wells, he rescued India from 17 for five with a breathtaking 175 not out that hauled his team to a final score of 266 for nine. They won the match by 31 runs.

Like Botham he is a wonderfully natural cricketer. Whereas Imran needed the better part of a decade to develop into a genuinely fast

bowler, and Hadlee refused to be deflected from the targets he set himself, Kapil gave freely of his gifts from the start. He could swing the ball at a brisk pace and, with the bat, liked nothing better than smashing mighty sixes.

Having scaled the highest peak he must now wait, like everybody else before him, for a younger man to supplant the Indian flag with one of his own. The record appears to be good for more years than Hadlee's but in the changing world of international cricket there will be no shortage of challengers in the future.

Shane Warne, who has taken his first 100 wickets, is the most obvious long-range contender if he stays fit and interested. For the time being Kapil, at least as much as Sunil Gavaskar, whose Test batting record was eclipsed last year by Allan Border, is the dazzling star of India.

Kapil built up his stamina and endurance by taking part in doing cross-country runs in Haryana, his home state. His exploits on the field have made him commercially popular, with India's largest companies competing to pay him to endorse their products.

He has also displayed business acumen with varied interests in hotels, exports and the media making him India's cricket's first millionaire.

Spinners turn tide in India's favour

SRI LANKA's hopes of salvaging some pride from the series were left in disarray as the Indian spinners put their side firmly in control of the third and final Test match in Ahmedabad yesterday.

The touring team were reduced to 119 all out and in reply India, already leading 2-0 in the series, got off to a solid start, reaching 90 for one at the close of play after an eventful first day.

Raju, the left-arm spinner, who captured five wickets for 38, and Chaudhary, the off spinner, with three for eight, were the men who did the damage as India established a commanding early position.

Sri Lanka, put in to bat, were struggling at lunch after Kapil Dev had Tillekeratne snatched up at forward short leg to open the floodgates with his 432nd wicket in Test matches.

Raju, using flight to great effect, struck an important blow by having Sri Lanka's leading batsmen, de Silva and Ranatunga, removed cheaply.

The only resistance to the Indian attack came from Sri Lanka's No 10, Wickrem-

singhe, who was top scorer with 22. But he was finally lured from the crease by Raju to give the wicketkeeper, Mongia, a simple stumping chance.

Sidhu, the Indian opener, and Kambl, who hit an unbeaten 45, including eight fours, resisted any threat from the spinners, moving the score along briskly after Prabhakar was dismissed for 14.

SRI LANKA First Innings
R S Mahanama b de Silva 18
S Jayawardene c Chaudhary 10
P P Thilakaratne c Mongia 10
A Ranatunga c Chaudhary 15
M S Atapattu c Chaudhary 0
R S Kapanga c Ashoka 10
P B Chinnappa c Kambl 10
S D Amarasinghe 4
M Muralitharan not out 4
Extras (b 8, w 7) 15

INDIA First Innings
M Prabhakar b Atapattu 14
N S Sidhu not out 29
Srinivasan not out 45
Extras (b 2, w 2) 4
Total (f wkt) 80

FALL OF WICKETS: 1-34, 2-39, 3-47, 4-58, 5-58, 6-71, 7-79, 8-83, 9-108.
BOWLING: Prabhakar 5-4-13-0; Kapil Dev 3-4-15-1; Chinnappa 15-5-3-1; Raju 23-7-38-5; Chaudhary 11-6-3-3.

INDIA: First Innings
M Prabhakar b Atapattu 14
N S Sidhu not out 29
Srinivasan not out 45
Extras (b 2, w 2) 4
Total (f wkt) 80

Pyatt can banish doubts by defeating Cameron

By Srikanth Sen
BOXING CORRESPONDENT

CHRIS Pyatt, the World Boxing Organisation (WBO) middleweight champion from Leicester, has the chance at Brentwood tonight to wipe out any lingering doubts from his last outing, when he was in trouble early against Hugo Corti, a challenger who was no more than a journeyman.

Pyatt must give an impressive performance against Neil Cameron, of South Africa, who is considered only slightly better than the Argentinian, and one of those world contenders who are not truly world-class.

Against Corti, there were definite signs that Pyatt, 30, does not have much left in him after ten hard years of campaigning. Cameron could just be the man to topple him. The South African is young, 24, and has a good left hook.

Although he has had only 17 bouts (three defeats) against Pyatt's 44 contests (three defeats), Cameron's determination to succeed cannot be ignored. Despite being stopped in eight rounds by Gerbrand Botes, Cameron hailed his compatriot in the return match in nine rounds to win the South African title.

This was a good win as Botes is extremely tough and resilient as Steve Collins, of Ireland, found when they met at Olympia last June. Botes made Collins look ordinary and only after a hard slog was the Irishman able to stop him. Collins has challenged the best in the world.

Pyatt should know too much for Cameron and stop him in the middle rounds, but could find himself in trouble early in the bout and may even have to get up off the floor.

Chris Eubank could collect £700,000 for defending his WBO super-middleweight title against "Lucky" Close in Ireland in May. The offer was made yesterday by the promoter, Frank Warren, in conjunction with Close's manager Barney Eastwood and the American promoter, Don King.

Warren said: "If Eubank accepts the money, let him have all the pressure by fighting in Belfast. I'm sure he can cope with it. If he doesn't want to go to Northern Ireland, we can make a compromise by taking the fight to Dublin. If he doesn't take up this offer, let it go out to pursue offers and we are confident of winning the bidding."

Close was considered unlucky by some observers to be given only a draw last May in his first meeting with Eubank in Glasgow, and is now the official WBO leading contender for Eubank's title.

Close was at the ringside in Berlin to see Eubank's seventh points victory in succession. He said: "He has gone back since the last time we fought. He's going down. I thought I beat him last time and now I'm convinced I'll make sure in the second fight."

Lennox Lewis wants his World Boxing Council heavyweight title defence against Phil Jackson, of Florida, on May 6 to take place at Earl's Court, London. But a 2am start to accommodate American television will mean it will depend on a licence being secured from the Kensington and Chelsea council to stage a bout in the early hours.

Village Manchester's victory encourages fiercest rivals

By Colin McQuillan

WIN bonus points snatched by both Manchester squashes sides in 2-2 draws on Monday have reduced the leadership of the Cardiff side. Leekes Wizards, to a marginal comeback over Manchester Northern with only two fixtures left.

Rob Slater, the team manager of WF Village Manchester, whose side beat the Wizards 7-6 on games countback, said: "If the lads had known they were pushing our deadliest rivals back into the leadership frame, they could easily have given me a 4-0 loss instead."

Village lost the top strings to Peter Marshall and Chris Walker, the England No 1 and No 2 imported to lead the expensive Welsh side this season, but they clawed back a home win thanks to a 10-8 second-game win by Paul Gregory from Walker and straight-games victories by Mark Cairns over Del Harris and Nick Taylor over Adrian Davies, the Welsh champion.

"Nick's win was the key to our success," Slater said. "Cairns played superbly to

avenge a bad loss to Harris in Cardiff in the first half of the season but beating the experienced Welsh champion at fourth string is a career-best performance for a rising 22-year-old like Nick."

Manchester Northern won at Herby Country Club despite the absence of their strong second string, Craig Van der Wath, who had a stomach bug.

Paul Lord filled the second string well with a straight-games defeat of Mark Chaloner and Justin Rennie secured the draw, coming in as fourth string to defeat Chris Clare.

The Manchester double success might even have taken Northern back to the top of the table had Derek Ryan, the Irish champion playing at

third string, imposed greater authority during seven game balls after leading 5-1 and 8-5 in his opening game against Julian Wellings. But he lost that game and the rubber 8-10, 9-7, 9-2, 7-0, 5-9, securing only an 8-6 countback for the bonus point but maintaining the only undefeated team record in the league.

The league championship could now rest on next week's derby between the Manchester sides. "If we can break their undefeated run on their own courts, it would compensate for our generosity towards them this week and put us back in the race, too," Slater said. "Another winning draw would do us nicely."

RESULTS: Premier division: WF Village Manchester 3 Leekes Wizards 2-2; 2nd: 2-2; 3rd: 2-2; 4th: 2-2; 5th: 2-2; 6th: 2-2; 7th: 2-2; 8th: 2-2; 9th: 2-2; 10th: 2-2; 11th: 2-2; 12th: 2-2; 13th: 2-2; 14th: 2-2; 15th: 2-2; 16th: 2-2; 17th: 2-2; 18th: 2-2; 19th: 2-2; 20th: 2-2; 21st: 2-2; 22nd: 2-2; 23rd: 2-2; 24th: 2-2; 25th: 2-2; 26th: 2-2; 27th: 2-2; 28th: 2-2; 29th: 2-2; 30th: 2-2; 31st: 2-2; 32nd: 2-2; 33rd: 2-2; 34th: 2-2; 35th: 2-2; 36th: 2-2; 37th: 2-2; 38th: 2-2; 39th: 2-2; 40th: 2-2; 41st: 2-2; 42nd: 2-2; 43rd: 2-2; 44th: 2-2; 45th: 2-2; 46th: 2-2; 47th: 2-2; 48th: 2-2; 49th: 2-2; 50th: 2-2; 51st: 2-2; 52nd: 2-2; 53rd: 2-2; 54th: 2-2; 55th: 2-2; 56th: 2-2; 57th: 2-2; 58th: 2-2; 59th: 2-2; 60th: 2-2; 61st: 2-2; 62nd: 2-2; 63rd: 2-2; 64th: 2-2; 65th: 2-2; 66th: 2-2; 67th: 2-2; 68th: 2-2; 69th: 2-2; 70th: 2-2; 71st: 2-2; 72nd: 2-2; 73rd: 2-2; 74th: 2-2; 75th: 2-2; 76th: 2-2; 77th: 2-2; 78th: 2-2; 79th: 2-2; 80th: 2-2; 81st: 2-2; 82nd: 2-2; 83rd: 2-2; 84th: 2-2; 85th: 2-2; 86th: 2-2; 87th: 2-2; 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Pyatt can banish doubts by defeating Cameron

- BBC1**
- 6.00 Business Breakfast (74877)
- 6.30 BBC Breakfast News (54334373)
- 9.05 Kilroy: Topical studio discussion (s) (7105825) 9.45 Newsround. Current affairs quiz (s) (5848909)
- 10.00 News (Ceefax), regional news and weather (9607880) 10.05 Playdays (s) (3337915)
- 10.30 Good Morning... with Anna and Nick. Weekday magazine programme (38023083)
- 12.15 Pebble Mill. Ross King's guest is the actress June Whitfield (s) (966052) 12.55 News (Ceefax), regional news and weather (5511880)
- 1.00 One O'Clock News (Ceefax) and weather (37642)
- 1.30 Neighbours (Ceefax) (s) (4913828)
- 1.50 The Great British Quiz. General knowledge quiz presented by Janice Long (s) (4117644)
- 2.15 Racing from Ascot. Julian Wilson introduces live coverage of the James Cape Novices' Steeplechase (2.30), the Stakelake Hurdle Race (3.05), and the Reynoldstown Novices' Steeplechase (3.35) (s) (337267)
- 3.50 Children's BBC: Bananaman (s) (2820557) 3.55 Bites. Ideas for recycling household junk (s) (3303077) 4.10 Jeopardy, part two of Thin Air (738557) 4.20 Jeopardy and Son (s) (7482886)
- 4.35 The Really Wild Show. Wildlife series. (Ceefax) (s) (6010596)
- 5.00 Newsround (8379977) 5.10 Mads Martin and her Merry Men. Comedy drama with Tony Robinson. Mysterious happenings force King John to reconsider his position in the history books. (Ceefax) (s) (2348769)
- 5.35 Neighbours (s) (Ceefax) (s) (110793)
- 6.00 Six O'Clock News with Anna Ford and Mike Smart (Ceefax) and weather (422)
- 6.30 Regional news magazines (542)
- 7.00 FILM: Money Madness (1987). Comedy chase with a bunch of misfits on a treasure hunt across Arizona pursued by two bumbling FBI men. Starring Royce D. Applegate. Directed by Richard Fleischer (Ceefax) (54626)
- 8.30 The Detectives, with Jasper Carrott and Robert Powell as the inept policemen. (s) (Ceefax) (s) (3916)
- 9.00 Party Political Broadcast on behalf of the Labour Party. (Ceefax) (s) (603880)
- 9.05 Nine O'Clock News with Michael Buerk (Ceefax) Regional news and weather (482644)



Sue Cook meets a young patient (9.35pm)

- 9.35 **CHOICE** Great Ormond Street Hospital (Ceefax) (s) (607246)
- 10.15 Sportnight. Desmond Lynch presents highlights from tonight's FA Cup fourth-round replays plus a round-up of last night's action as well as the Masters snooker tournament from Wembley and a preview of the Winter Olympics in Lillehammer, Norway (939644)
- 11.55 Snooker - The Masters. (s) (232170)
- 1.25am Weather (455558) Ends at 1.30
- 2.15-4.45 BBC Select: Accountancy Television (330403) 3.15 Legal Network Television (32500) 4.00 TV Edit - German 2 TV (7513942)

- BBC2**
- 6.20 Open University. State of the Art. Children's Drawings (1774118) 6.45 Exam: A Curious Kind of Ritual (S319460) 7.10 Modern Art: Picasso's Guernica (248825) 7.35 Art in 15th Century Italy: Panel Painting (8515400)
- 8.00 Breakfast News (Ceefax) (245508)
- 8.15 Westminster Daily. A round-up of yesterday's business in both Houses (7437977)
- 9.05 Daytime on Two. Educational programmes. Plus, for children.
- 1.20 Bump (5633644) 1.25 Fireman Sam (25576644) 1.35-1.45 Stopped and Tiedup (90871002)
- 2.00 News (Ceefax) and weather followed by Storytime (s) (11558606)
- 2.15 Snooker - The Masters. Live coverage of this afternoon's play, introduced by Doug Donnelly (s) 2.15-4.00 (885408) 4.00-6.00 (2809). Includes News (Ceefax) and weather at 3.00 and 3.50 (87580731)
- 6.00 Star Trek. The Enterprise sends down a landing party to a hostile planet and they are stalked by a beautiful woman. Starring William Shatner (s) (Ceefax) (261538)
- 6.50 Def II: Reportage. What young people think of the concept of freedom (s) (491183)
- 7.30 On the Line. An investigation into how child sports stars are being strapped up by agents and sponsors (s) (828)
- 8.00 **CHOICE** Timewatch: Spies in the Sky (Ceefax) (710170)
- 8.50 **CHOICE** Building Sights, USA (Ceefax) (s) (27258)
- 9.00 The Day Today. Radio 4's current affairs spoof programme. On the Hour, is brought to the small screen. (Ceefax) (7335)



Jonathan Firth and Rachel Power (9.30pm)

- 9.30 Middlemarch. Fred (Jonathan Firth) comes down from Oxford, determined not to become a clergyman, and asks Farebrother (Simon Chandler) to find out if Mary (Rachel Power) still holds any feelings for him (Ceefax) (s) (24554)
- 10.30 Party Political Broadcast on behalf of the Labour Party. (Ceefax) (s) (603880)
- 10.35 Newsnight with Kirsty Wark (Ceefax) (252921)
- 11.20 The Late Show. Kevin Jackson asks leading writers and critics whether Middlemarch is one of the world's greatest novels (s) (51980)
- 12.00 Weather (2014359)
- 12.05am Open University: Fifth Century Athens Seize the Fire (14279). Ends at 12.40
- 2.00 Night School: Science Night 3 (38497). Ends at 4.00

VideoPlus and the Video PlusCode

The numbers next to each TV programme listing are Video PlusCode numbers, which allow you to programme your video recorder to record a particular programme. VideoPlus is a service which allows you to record a programme on video. To use VideoPlus, you need a VideoPlus decoder and a video recorder. VideoPlus is available on all BBC, ITV, and Channel 4 programmes. For more information, see the VideoPlus guide on page 48.



Pilot Gary Powers was shot down (BBC2, 8.00pm)

Timewatch: Spies in the Sky (BBC2, 8.00pm)

During the Cold War more than 40 Allied aircraft were shot down while engaged in spying missions over the Soviet Union. The most famous incident involved the American U2 and its pilot, Gary Powers. Some missions were so secret that not even the American President was told, let alone the crews' families. Drawing on American, British and Soviet sources, Paul Lashmar's documentary throws considerable light into dark corners. It reveals the little-known involvement of the RAF, whose Canberra jets flew to the other side of Stalingrad to photograph a missile test site. It also tries to discover the fate of American aircrews who were reported to have been captured and sent to Soviet prison camps.

Short and Curly: No Head for Heights (Channel 4, 9.45pm)

For the final time in the current series, talent next to feature films is given the chance to fashion a credible drama in just 11 minutes. Co-directed by Steven Bernstein and Nicholas Wright, *No Head for Heights* is about the life of a state of flux. The proposed merger of Michael Rotondi's striking arrangement of ribs and canopies. A bold design it may be but not at first sight. The film is a satire on the way in which a more like some futuristic office than a place to relax and eat. Still, the point of *Building Sights* is the chance to air enthusiasms, however eccentric, and Bergen, at least, is clearly bowled over.

Building Sights USA (BBC2, 8.50pm)

Ann Bergen, an American professor of architecture, visits Los Angeles and envisions over one of the city's newest eating places, Nixie Restaurant, dates from 1993 and occupies part of the ground floor of a Japanese bank. Bergen leaves us to muse on the possibly symbolic juxtaposition of Western cuisine and oriental mass as she drools over the architect Michael Rotondi's striking arrangement of ribs and canopies. A bold design it may be but not at first sight. The film is a satire on the way in which a more like some futuristic office than a place to relax and eat. Still, the point of *Building Sights* is the chance to air enthusiasms, however eccentric, and Bergen, at least, is clearly bowled over.

Great Ormond Street Hospital (BBC1, 9.35pm)

Politics continue to overshadow medicine in the concluding part of Katie Pearson's incisive portrait of the hospital. The proposed merger of Michael Rotondi's striking arrangement of ribs and canopies. A bold design it may be but not at first sight. The film is a satire on the way in which a more like some futuristic office than a place to relax and eat. Still, the point of *Building Sights* is the chance to air enthusiasms, however eccentric, and Bergen, at least, is clearly bowled over.

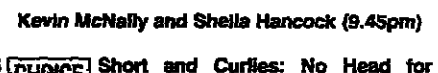
- ITV LONDON**
- 6.00 GMTV (50460) 9.00 Top of the Morning with Amanda Redington (5586625)
- 9.25 Win, Lose or Draw. Celebrity game show (s) (5591712) 9.55 London Today (Teletext) and weather (5313335)
- 10.00 The Time... The Place... Topical discussion series chaired by John Stapleton (s) (2257335)
- 10.35 This Morning. Weekday magazine series (28017422) 12.20 London Today (Teletext) and weather (5907335)
- 12.30 News (Teletext) and weather (3034460)
- 12.55 Coronation Street (s) (Teletext) (3019151) 1.25 Home and Away (Teletext) (37715880)
- 1.55 The Chrystal Rose Show. A discussion on whether pornography is healthy (s) (26190462) 2.25 A Country Practice. Drama serial set in small Australian town (s) (43850977) 2.50 The Young Doctors. Hospital drama serial (3333712)
- 3.20 ITN News headlines (Teletext) (8105915) 3.25 London Today (Teletext) and weather (8104286)
- 3.30 Tots TV. Animation (s) (9385286) 3.40 Allsorts. Songs, stories and adventure (s) (7621118) 3.50 The Adventures of Grady Greenpeace (9389002) 4.05 Scooby Doo (s) (6833462) 4.15 Terror Towers (s) (204915) 4.45 Tiny Toon Adventures. Cartoon (9001248)
- 5.10 Home and Away (s) (Teletext) (5626489)
- 5.40 ITN Early Evening News (Teletext) and weather (486977)
- 6.00 London Tonight (Teletext) and weather (87731)
- 7.00 This Is Your Life introduced by Michael Aspel (Teletext) (s) (4628)
- 7.30 Coronation Street (Teletext) (s) (354)
- 8.00 Des O'Connor Tonight. The entertainer's guests are Shirley Bassey, Paul Daniels, Lee Evans, Richard Marx and Tom Suton (8170)



Gangster's moll Julie Graham (9.00pm)

- 9.00 99-1 Last in the series starring Leslie Grantham as Mack Raynor, an undercover policeman. Raynor believes his cover is blown and tries to escape with Lisa, Tate's girlfriend. (Teletext) (s) (5606)
- 10.00 Party Political Broadcast on behalf of the Labour Party. (Teletext) (s) (60199)
- 10.05 News at Ten with Trevor McDonald (Teletext) and weather (579915) 10.35 London Tonight (Teletext) and weather (506731)
- 10.45 The Big Fight. Live. Chris Puan, the WBO middleweight champion, defends his title against Mark Canham of South Africa at the Brentwood Leisure Centre (5404373)
- 12.00 FILM: First Love (1977). Love-tangle drama involving a student who thinks he has found the perfect woman. Starring William Katt and Susan Dey. Directed by Joan Darling (12403)
- 1.30 Hollywood Report. Showbiz (s) (73316)
- 2.30 The Chrystal Rose Show. As 1.55pm (s) (16126)
- 2.50 The Album Show presented by Steve Priestley (s) (17132) 3.30 Videoanalysis (19213)
- 4.00 Repeat the Whitbread Drama serial (s) (63381) 5.00 America's Top Ten (s) (17720)
- 5.30 ITN Morning News (96132). Ends at 6.00

- CHANNEL 4**
- 6.35 Jayce and the Wheeled Warriors. Cartoon (s) (6397248)
- 7.00 The Big Breakfast (99625)
- 8.00 Saboteur. Women-only game show. With Maria McElane (s) (47625)
- 9.30 Schools (822828)
- 12.00 House to House. Political magazine presented by Maya Even (67489)
- 12.30 Sesame Street. The guest is the bandleader Cab Calloway (16460) 1.30 The Magic Roundabout followed by The Changers, Paddington and Musti (s) (76255)
- 2.00 FILM: A Message To Garcia (1936, b/w) starring Barbara Stanwyck and Wallace Beery. Historical adventure set in Cuba of the 1890s. Directed by George Marshall (61165)
- 3.30 Land Above the Trees. Wildlife in the mountains (1403118) 3.55 Memento. Joan Bakewell asks Dr Simon Cassidy to choose her favourite belongings (Teletext) (s) (866412)
- 4.30 Countdown. (Teletext) (s) (267)
- 5.00 The Oprah Winfrey Show. Two sisters who split after an argument 21 years ago are reunited on the show. (Teletext) (s) (8567441)
- 5.50 Laurel and Hardy. Animation (165248)
- 6.00 Mark and Minky. Mark decides to become a priest (s) (1460)
- 6.30 A Different World. Dwayne dreams that Whitley is running for President (s) (712)
- 7.00 Channel 4 News with Jon Snow (Teletext) and weather (654644)
- 7.50 Party Political Comment by a Labour party politician. (Teletext) (s) (810002)
- 8.00 Brookside. (Teletext) (s) (7118)
- 8.30 Travelogue. Pete McCarthy visits the island of Zanzibar. Of the east coast of Africa, now blessed with an appealing time-war atmosphere. (Teletext) (s) (6625)
- 9.00 Dispatches. An investigation into how Britain's asylum and refugee laws are being bypassed by criminal middlemen who provide false passports and entry visas (212644)



Kevin McNally and Sheila Hancock (9.45pm)

- 9.45 **CHOICE** Short and Curly: No Head for Heights. (Teletext) (s) (352199)
- 10.00 The Golden Girls (s) (Teletext) (140354)
- 10.35 S and M. Comedy sketches with Tony Slattery and Mike McShane (s) (864151)
- 11.05 Walk on the Wild Side. Three girls from Possil, a rough housing estate on the northern edge of Glasgow, talk about the violence around them (532731)
- 11.35 Moviewatch. Includes reviews of In the Name of the Father and The Three Musketeers plus an interview with Kim Basinger (s) (563373)
- 12.10am Flying Blind. Comedy (s) (5527478)
- 12.40 LA Law. Courtroom dramas (s) (735749)
- 1.40 Anticlimax. How scientists are trying to understand the way harmony can arise from chance (Teletext) (9507710). Ends at 2.40

- RADIO 1**
- FM Stereo and MW. 4.00am Kevin Greening (FM only) 7.00am Wake Up to Wogan 9.15am Breakfast 9.30am News 11.30am News 12.00pm News 12.30pm News 1.00pm News 1.30pm News 2.00pm News 2.30pm News 3.00pm News 3.30pm News 4.00pm News 4.30pm News 5.00pm News 5.30pm News 6.00pm News 6.30pm News 7.00pm News 7.30pm News 8.00pm News 8.30pm News 9.00pm News 9.30pm News 10.00pm News 10.30pm News 11.00pm News 11.30pm News 12.00pm News 12.30pm News 1.00pm News 1.30pm News 2.00pm News 2.30pm News 3.00pm News 3.30pm News 4.00pm News 4.30pm News 5.00pm News 5.30pm News 6.00pm News 6.30pm News 7.00pm News 7.30pm News 8.00pm News 8.30pm News 9.00pm News 9.30pm News 10.00pm News 10.30pm News 11.00pm News 11.30pm News 12.00pm News 12.30pm News 1.00pm News 1.30pm News 2.00pm News 2.30pm News 3.00pm News 3.30pm News 4.00pm News 4.30pm News 5.00pm News 5.30pm News 6.00pm News 6.30pm News 7.00pm News 7.30pm News 8.00pm News 8.30pm News 9.00pm News 9.30pm News 10.00pm News 10.30pm News 11.00pm News 11.30pm News 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WEDNESDAY FEBRUARY 9 1994

England fast bowler requires only rest for rapid recovery

Caddick cleared to continue tour



Caddick undergoes a scan on his right shin at the Pine Medical Centre in Bridgetown, Barbados, yesterday. He was later given the all-clear to continue on tour

FROM ALAN LEE
CRICKET CORRESPONDENT
IN BARBADOS

THE first genuine injury scare of England's Caribbean cricket tour receded yesterday when a sophisticated surgical scan cleared Andrew Caddick of the stress fracture suspected since he limped from the field in Antigua on Sunday.

Caddick's right shin, the focus of fears and attention, must still be rested for at least another week but the optimistic prognosis of Dave Roberts, the England physiotherapist, is that he should be fit for selection for the first Test match, which begins in Jamaica next Saturday.

The news comes as a great relief to the England management because Caddick is in the form and mood to suggest he will be a more reliable choice than the frustrating Chris

Lewis as a seam bowler to bat at No 8 in the Test side.

An intense, abrasive character, channelled in his commitment, Caddick ought to have been able to savour the plaudits for his cricket over the weekend, when six wickets and an innings of 36 were less than his efforts against the Leeward Islands deserved. Instead, he has suffered an anguished few days, knowing that a confirmed fracture would have led to his early return home.

Yesterday morning, Caddick kept his appointment at the Pine Medical Centre in Bridgetown, where a thorough, three-dimensional scan of the troubled area was overseen by a local surgeon. The evidence was sufficient for the surgeon to pronounce himself "95 per cent" satisfied but a second test cleared all remaining doubt. A third scan

may be taken a week from now to confirm Caddick's recovery.

Roberts, who admitted he had feared the worst when, on Sunday, Caddick complained he could barely stand, said: "This is the only way of eliminating suspicions of a stress fracture and it is great news for us. What we are left with is an inflammation of the lining of the shinbone, a condition common in long-distance runners. With rest, and anti-inflammatory tablets, he should be fit for the first international games."

Caddick will sit out the four-day match against Barbados, which starts tomorrow, and is unlikely to be ready for the opening one-day international here next Wednesday. This may provide Lewis with one further opportunity to make a more eloquent case for inclusion than he has managed



Have you ever wanted to pick the England cricket team? Play The Times XI game tomorrow.

thus far. It is a fact acknowledged by those responsible that Lewis was fortunate to be selected for this tour after a home season in which he alternately bewildered and dismayed Graham Gooch, the

then England captain, and made a negative impression at county level. Given this reprieve, one might have anticipated a focused output in the crucial early weeks when places are won and lost. Instead, faith and patience in Lewis is wearing thin.

Keith Fletcher, the England team manager, is not a man given to public displays of anger so the manner in which he pulled Lewis from the net yesterday for a lengthy and animated rebuke following a casual slog against Ian Salisbury was significant. When the finger-wagging lecture ended, Lewis returned, wide-eyed with surprise, and lost his off-stump to Salisbury's next ball. Fletcher simply shook his head.

The England team for this final warm-up game will be announced this morning and is likely, Caddick excepted, to

bear a close resemblance to the intended Test side. Angus Fraser and Devon Malcolm, the new-ball bowlers, will be given a second airing, both having run in with purpose during practice yesterday.

West Indies are expected to include Jimmy Adams, as a batting wicket-keeper, in their side for the first one-day match and to select Andy Cummins, the Barbadian, ahead of Kenny Benjamin. Courtney Walsh demonstrated his good form with eight wickets in a Red Stripe Cup victory for Jamaica this week but the most intriguing domestic figures were achieved by Rajendra Dharmraj, 25 and uncapped, of Trinidad, who took 8-51 against Barbados. Dharmraj bowls leg-breaks and is the man most likely to profit if the West Indies break with tradition and temper their pace with spin.

Wembley ready to defend threat from FA

BY JOHN GOODBODY

WEMBLEY will stand firm against any threat from the Football Association to move international matches, the FA Cup final or the Charity Shield away from the national stadium before 2002. If necessary, Wembley will take legal action against the national governing body if it attempts to break the 20-year deal the two parties signed in 1983 and which expires in eight years' time.

The FA is upset that when it signed the deal, football's commercial possibilities had not been fully explored. It believes Wembley has benefited from taking between 28 and 32 per cent of the gate receipts, 25 per cent of television revenue and all the money for parking, programmes and particularly for perimeter advertising and sponsorship. Wembley is about to sign a new five-year deal with sponsors and advertisers.

An FA spokesman said yesterday: "We think the contract is unfair as it stands, but it is not our style to rip up contracts. We hope common sense will prevail and it will be reviewed."

The FA has a weak hand. It cannot break the contract without risking legal action and there is no realistic alternative venue until the proposed millennium stadium is built in Manchester. Old Trafford, the home of Manchester United, has a capacity of just under 45,000, compared to the 80,000 at Wembley, and Twickenham was inspected when the FA considered staging the 1998 World Cup finals and was found to be too narrow for football.

Sir Brian Wolfson, the chairman of Wembley plc, said yesterday that it had an "ongoing dialogue" with the FA and was "disappointed" that "the interpretation of the terms of the contract should have become such an emotive issue."

He stressed that a move towards arbitration to settle the dispute, suggested a few months ago, only concerned definition of terms in the contract and not its cancellation.

Wembley, which has spent £7 million on modernisation, has still to complete a separate agreement with the FA for the 1996 European championship.

First division switch, page 42

Falconer signs to add power to Celtic attack

BY KEVIN MCCARRA

CELTIC yesterday completed the signing of Willie Falconer from Sheffield United for a fee of £350,000. The deal has dragged on since the weekend as Lou Macari, the Celtic manager, negotiated the price to within the low limits of his debt-ridden club.

Although he has recently been in the reserves, Falconer's reputation is high. In 1992 he could have been in Scotland's squad for the European championship finals but was unable to travel for domestic reasons.

Falconer, 25, established himself in midfield while at Middlesbrough but could now find himself in the forward line, the role he occupied with his first club, Aberdeen. Celtic, who have not won any of their seven games in 1994, lack a goalscorer.

Dundee United have sold John Clark to Stoke City for £150,000. The centre half has been out of the side for most of the season with Gordon Patric and Brian Welsh establishing themselves at the heart of the defence.

A neutral venue will be as costly as a heavy fine for Dundee and Clydebank when their Tennents Scottish Cup third-round replay takes place at Forthbank Stadium, Stirling, today. The Scottish Football Association ordered the switch after a pitch invasion during the 1-1 draw at Clydebank's Kilbowie Park. Only 750 tickets have been sold.

The clubs had been limited to 700 each, but selling stopped at two o'clock yesterday. The names and addresses of every purchaser had to be lodged with the SFA by five o'clock. "It does seem puzzling," Jim Duffy, the Dundee player-manager, said. "A crowd of around 4,000 would have been expected had the match taken place at Dens Park."

Duffy added: "If a bank was robbed and they then installed every security device possible, do you think the thieves would return?"

"It was a piece of isolated madness at Clydebank. I think the fans tomorrow will turn up in dinner suits and be scared to open their mouths." The winners of tonight's match are at home to St Mirren in the fourth round.

Kapil Dev gives Warne something to bowl at

BY SIMON WILDE

KAPIL Dev, who was born within sight of the Himalayas 35 years ago, yesterday reached the summit of bowling's Everest when he claimed the world Test wicket-taking record as his own. With Kapil having no plans to retire and with his still-active rivals barely out of the foothills in their attempts to reach the top, the Indian all-rounder can anticipate holding on to the record at least until the end of the decade.

Kapil went into the third Test match with Sri Lanka in Ahmedabad needing one wicket to pull clear of Sir Richard Hadlee on 431 wickets. Given the new ball, he had to wait only an hour to claim his

prize, having Hashan Tillekeratne caught at forward short leg off his 44th ball of the day. Play was halted while Kapil was congratulated by his team-mates, who had rushed towards him even before umpire Narasimhan had raised his finger, and given a standing ovation by a 6,000-strong crowd who released balloons and waved banners.

Kapil, who took no further wickets as Sri Lanka were dismissed for 119, said later that his aim now was to take 475 Test wickets before he retired. Even with his excellent record of fitness—Kapil has missed only one Test since making his debut 16 years ago—this may be ambitious. At his recent rate of progress he will need at least 15

Kapil Dev is the sixth bowler to break the record of Test wickets since Test match started. He is 24 and has taken 101 wickets. The most likely to catch Kapil. "Probably in ten years someone will go beyond Kapil and the way that Shane Warne is going at the moment he could go beyond what Kapil has done... Shane could be the first to get 500," he said.				
Bowler	Test wickets	Age at record	Year	Country
F S Trueman (GB)	193-76	27	1952	England
R G Brace (WA)	197-81	29	1930	Australia
D K Lillee (A)	191-86	30	1970	Australia
I T Benaud (A)	199-88	30	1954	Australia
R J Hadlee (NZ)	195-84	28	1977	New Zealand
Kapil Dev (I)	101	24	1994	India

Tests to get there, which could mean him playing on until after the World Cup in early 1996.

Hadlee, who admitted that he was sad to have lost the record, perhaps made a more realistic

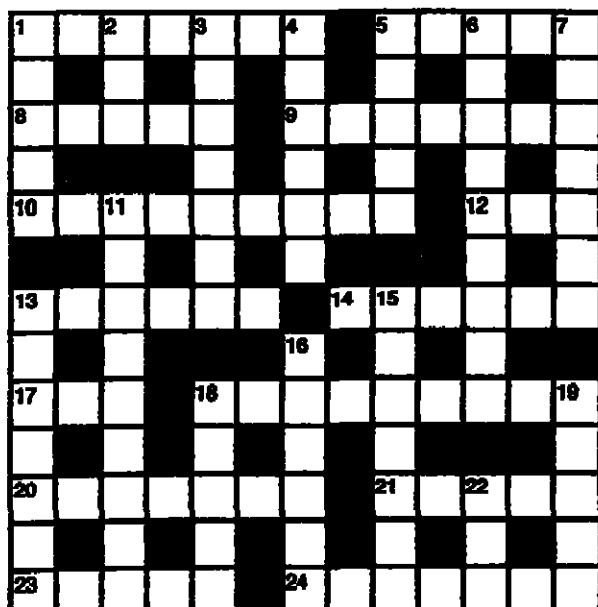
estimate when he said Kapil could finish with around 450 wickets. He predicted that Shane Warne, the Australian leg spinner, who is 24 and has taken 101 wickets, was the most likely to catch Kapil. "Probably in ten years someone will go beyond Kapil and the way that Shane Warne is going at the moment he could go beyond what Kapil has done... Shane could be the first to get 500," he said.

As a slow bowler, Warne has a better chance of a long career than those who rely more on pace for their wickets. Failing fitness is the main threat to the chances of the record being claimed by Warne. Younis, who has taken 148 Test wickets by the age of 22, Craig

McDermott (223 wickets by 23), Wasim Akram (197 wickets by 27) and Curtly Ambrose (193 wickets by 30). Warne has suffered a stress fracture of the back and Ambrose has begun to make noises about stepping down through exhaustion.

Kapil's one regret is that he did not get to his mark while his fellow Indian, Sunil Gavaskar, still held the world Test run-scoring record. That went to Allan Border, of Australia, a year ago. What Kapil must now hope is that Sachin Tendulkar, the batting prodigy from Bombay, can get to Border before Warne or Wagar get to him.

Kapil Dev tribute, page 46
Photograph, page 46



CROSSWORD ENTHUSIASTS: The Times Concise Crosswords—Books 1 & 2 (Special Edition 240 puzzles) £5.74 each. Books 3 & 4 £4.25 each. The Times Jumbo Crosswords—Book 1 £5.25, Book 2 £5.99, Concise Book 1 £5.99. The Times Crosswords—Books 1 to 13 £4.74 each. Books 14 to 16 £4.25 each. The Sunday Times Crosswords—Books 1 to 10 £4.74 each. Book 11 £4.25. Concise Books 1 & 2 £4.25 each. Prices inc p&hp (UK). Cheques to *Adams Ltd*, 51 Manor Lane, London SE13 9QW. Return delivery. Tel 081-852 4575 (24 hrs). No credit cards.

Just released from Times Books. The Times Crosswords—Book 17. The Times Concise Crosswords—Book 5. The Sunday Times Crosswords—Book 12. £4.25 each (inc p&hp).

TIMES TWO
CROSSWORD
No 84

ACROSS

- 1 Shortfall (7)
- 5 Swift, old London prison (5)
- 8 Army's progress (5)
- 9 Distant settlement (7)
- 10 Of tailoring (9)
- 12 Cooler (3)
- 13 Venerable, impressive (6)
- 14 Throws out (6)
- 17 Undercover Army unit (1,1,1)
- 18 Actors' resting space (5-4)
- 20 The care of growing children (7)
- 21 Dancing shoes (5)
- 23 Ahead of time (5)
- 24 One using an aerosol (7)

DOWN

- 1 Two French authors, pere et fils (5)
- 2 Pelt (3)
- 3 In which one conspires (7)
- 4 Sun's turning point (6)
- 5 Lethal (5)
- 6 By virtue of one's position (2,7)
- 7 Lockjaw (7)
- 11 Hospital doctor (9)
- 13 Lack (7)
- 15 Gin-flavoured shrub (7)
- 16 Suspension of sitting (6)
- 18 Showing crude, bright colours (5)
- 19 Scrooge (5)
- 22 Hawthorn blossom (3)

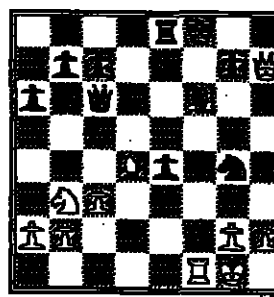
SOLUTION TO NO 83

- ACROSS: 6 False colours 7 Slip-up 8 Refuge 9 Mona 10 Redbrick 12 Weakening 16 Lisa 18 Job lot 20 Degree 21 Milk and water
- DOWN: 1 Flapjack 2 Pepper 3 Horrid 4 Coif 5 Tragic 6 Folio 11 Relegate 13 Exotic 14 Intent 15 Godown 17 Shear 19 Lake

By Raymond Keene

Today's problem is from the game Anand - Yusupov, FIDE Candidates, Game 5, Wijk aan Zee 1994. How did the young Indian Grandmaster Anand, White to play, force immediate resignation to register one of the quickest wins ever in a Candidates event?

Solution, page 43



By Philip Howard

- BEAL
a. To scrape before painting
b. The cord of a Venetian curtain
c. A river mouth
- APHELION
a. A Hebrew vowel sign
b. Part of an orbit
c. A lion gate

- TICKNEY
a. Earthenware
b. A bookmaker's runner
c. Bread and dripping
- UMBEL
a. A type of flower
b. Innards of a deer
c. The Babylonian devil

Answers on page 43

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